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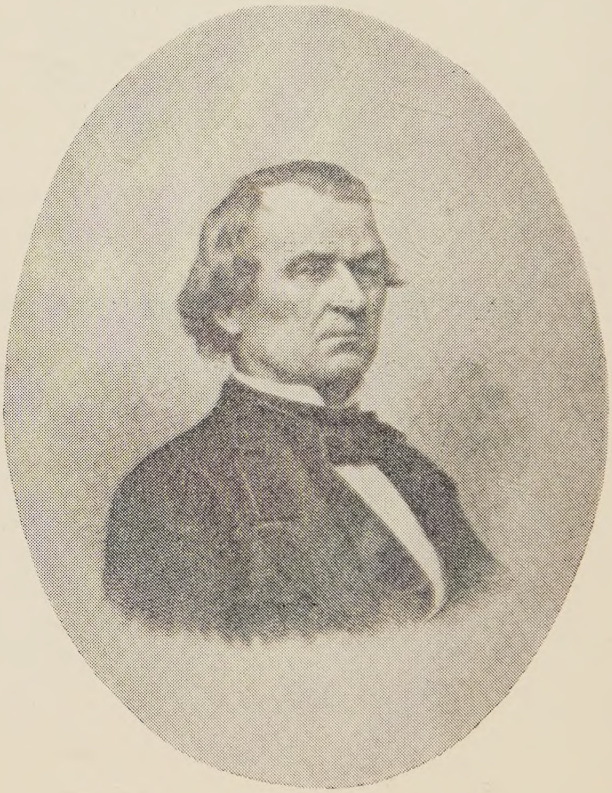

ANDREW JOHNSON

Seventeenth President of the United States

THE EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED ANNUALLY BY THE EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 25 — 1953

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ANDREW JOHNSON VERSUS THE PRESS IN 1866*

By Gregg Phifer

Few congressional elections in our nation's history have been as bitterly contested as that of 1866. The Civil War was over, but the pattern of reconstruction had not yet been decided. Should the southern states be welcomed back into the Union without slavery but with a minimum of other political and economic changes? Or must they be humiliated for the crime of secession and remade in the image of the North? This, in simple terms, was the issue of the congressional elections. It was a choice between the presidential reconstruction of reconciliation and the congressional reconstruction of retribution.

One of the features of the campaign was a swing around the circle of the northern states by Andrew Johnson, seventeenth President of the United States. During three weeks, from August 28 to September 15, the President pitted his skill at stump speaking[1] against the editorial thunders of most of the influential northern papers.

What did Johnson and the editors and publishers of northern papers think of each other? What kind of coverage did the President's speaking tour receive? What kind of picture did contemporary newspapers and magazines give of the President? What role did the press play in determining the outcome of the 1866 elections? These are the questions raised in this study of Andrew Johnson and the press.

This paper is not concerned with the reasoned arguments of Johnson and the Radicals or the emotional revival of Civil War hatreds ("waving the bloody shirt").[2] Nor is the authenticity of available speech texts called into question; when they printed a text at all, most papers tried to report accurately what Johnson had to say.[3] Here the focus is kept on the battle between the President and his newspaper and magazine critics.

MUTUAL ATTITUDES OF DISTRUST

President Johnson had no reason for trusting the press. With few exceptions reporters and editors gave him little encouragement. Nor was he

*Adapted from the address at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society in Knoxville, September 4, 1952.

[1]For representative comments on Johnson's skill at stump speaking see *Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Andrew Johnson, A Senator From Tennessee* (Washington, 1876). Delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives January 12, 1876, 44 Cong., 1 Sess.

[2]For that account see Gregg Phifer, "Andrew Johnson Argues a Case," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), XI (June, 1952), 148-70.

[3]On this subject see Gregg Phifer, "Andrew Johnson at Cleveland and St. Louis, 1866: A Study in Textual Authenticity," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (Columbia, Mo.), XXXVII (December, 1951), 455-62.

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in any way inclined to turn the other cheek or return a soft answer to criticism of himself or his policies.

Johnson's reputation and achievement came not through skill with the pen but through his powers of oral persuasion. His annual messages to Congress are excellent, carefully written documents; but though their ideas were undoubtedly Johnson's, their composition belonged to George Bancroft or some other trusted associate.[4] The President was a speaker, not a writer.

Against this background, Johnson's impatience at and lack of consideration for the press can easily be understood. When he was military governor of Tennessee, he suppressed two Nashville papers, the *Daily Times* and the *Banner,* and seized and closed the plants of two others, the *Gazette* and the *Patriot,* as well as the Methodist and Baptist publishing houses—all on the charge of propagating disloyalty. Critical reporters and editors were mercilessly treated. When war correspondents interfered with efficient administration of the war, Johnson dealt with them brusquely.[5] And in 1866 little consideration was given reporters covering the swing around the circle. No texts were prepared for early distribution or tables provided for note taking. There was no catering to reportorial palates with food or drink. After the banquet at Delmonico's in New York City, for example, the pro-administration *Times* protested that reporters were not admitted to the banquet with other guests but "were kept waiting in an anteroom until the eating was over, when they were offered what they termed 'broken victuals'."[6]

For all this, however, the President made good copy. He was a colorful figure, forthright, combative, newsworthy. In his speeches he struck out boldly in vigorous if sometimes ungrammatical language. He talked back when crowds heckled. These facts, coupled with his position as President, encouraged a maximum effort on the part of the press to report the 1866 presidential excursion. Many newspapers depended on the Associated Press, a lusty youngster well into its second decade,[7] and its agent Lawrence A. Gobright. Spurred by competition, papers of metropolitan New York sent a large delegation: Benjamin C. Truman and James B. Sheridan for the *Times;* Daniel C. McEwen for the Democratic *World;* Samuel Glenn, Stephen Hayes, James W. Tooly, and Samuel Cadwallader for the *Herald.*

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[4]William A. Dunning, "More Light on Andrew Johnson," *American Historical Review* (New York), XI (April, 1906), 574-94. See also Carl Russell Fish, "Communication on President Johnson's First Annual Message," *ibid.*, XI (July, 1906), 951-52.

[5]Clifton R. Hall, *Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee* (Princeton, 1916), 43; Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year* (New York, 1930), 18.

[6]Quoted by *The Nation* (New York), III (September 6, 1866), 181.

[7]The Associated Press was founded in May, 1848. Oliver Gramling, *AP, the Story of News* (New York, 1940), 19.

Other special correspondents represented the *Boston Post,* the *New Orleans Crescent,* the *Chicago Times,* and the *Chicago Republican.*[8] Papers in St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg,[9] and other cities and towns had their editors or star reporters on the job when the President came to town. Quantitatively the reporting of Johnson's swing around the circle was probably unparalleled in previous American history.

It would be a mistake to assume that the President was unpopular with all reporters. In their ranks, as with the people at large, he had both friends and enemies, though neutrality toward the President was difficult if not impossible. William H. Crook, who accompanied Johnson on the tour, observed:

> The President had always been a popular figure with newspaper correspondents. Whether he was to be admired or blamed, he was always an energetic and vivid personality. There was sure to be something to report . . . . There were newspaper correspondents accompanying the party, but . . . they were entirely unable to stem the tide of sensationalism.[10]

In his testimony before the House Investigating Committee, which was seeking grounds on which to impeach the President, Gobright of the Associated Press defended Johnson:

> I have known the President for twenty-five years, and I think he was, on these occasions [speeches on the swing around the circle], the same Andrew Johnson that I have always known him. Sometimes he would become warmed up with his subject, and eloquent, and when insulting words would be used in the crowd he would give a sharp answer, as any other man would under the circumstances.[11]

Johnson had friends even on opposition papers. On May 12 John Russell Young, one of Horace Greeley's subordinates on the *New York Tribune,* wrote a letter of congratulation to the presidential secretary, Ben Truman, whose report on the condition of the South had just been published. Young's letter went on to say that

> the Great "Tribune" has taken a bitter stand against Johnson, and we can't afford to see any good in him or his policy. At the same time, I will esteem it a favor if you will say to Johnson, in

[8]*Chicago Times,* September 6. All newspaper references are from 1866. See also *Supplement to the Congressional Globe, The Trial of Andrew Johnson,* 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 210.

[9]Pittsburg was spelled without the *h* until 1911.

[10]William H. Crook, *Through Five Administrations* (New York, 1910), 108-10.

[11]House Committee Report No. 7, *Reports of Committees,* 40 Cong., 1 Sess., 527-28.

> your nice way, that, personally, I hold him in high respect, and believe me he is being badly treated.[12]

Much of the caricatured picture of the President's tour seems, therefore, not to have been the fault of the reporters on the spot. Even though Johnson was scarcely the most diplomatic of Presidents, especially with gentlemen of the Fourth Estate, he could always be counted on for a good story and had friends as well as enemies among the reporters.

When attacked, no matter from what quarter, Johnson responded vigorously. This was true of his response to the crowds that heckled him along the way; it was equally true of criticism by the press. One recurrent theme in his speech was an attack upon the "mendacious press" which "misrepresented and traduced" him. At New York City, one of the early stops on his tour, he insisted that "a mercenary press may traduce and vilify, mendacious and unprincipled writers may write and talk, but all of them cannot drive me from my purpose."[13] At Cleveland he spoke of "sluice after sluice of misrepresentation . . . poured out upon me" and "a subsidized gang of hirelings who have not ceased to traduce me . . . ."[14] At Indianapolis, where he was nearly mobbed, he told a morning-after audience that "slanders and misrepresentations have gone in advance of us and spread over the country . . . ."[15] At Columbus he defied the "taunts and jeers and the revilings of a mendacious press . . . ."[16]

Johnson did not want to be reported; he wanted to be heard. Such was the purpose of his tour. Could he but plead his case face to face with the people of the United States, he felt confident of victory. But, no matter how extensive his tour, he began to realize toward the end how many of the people had neither seen his face nor heard his arguments. Almost plaintively he told a Columbus audience, "I wish I had a clarion voice to extend to the remotest cabin to ask where is the measure they [Radicals] introduced to restore the Union of the States and to reconcile a distracted and divided people."[17] Again, at Baltimore, he expressed the same wish: "would to God my voice could be heard in every hovel throughout this land . . . ."[18]

Never before had a President of the United States made a tour like this. Never before had a campaign of Johnson's been reported as this one was. The President apparently failed to realize that his tour and speeches would

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[12]Major Benjamin C. Truman, "Anecdotes of Andrew Johnson," *The Century Illustrated Magazine* (New York), LXXXV (January, 1913), 440.

[13]Text from *The Political History of the United States of America During the Period of the Reconstruction*, edited by Edward McPherson (Washington, 1871), 129-34.

[14]*Cleveland Daily Leader*, September 12.

[15]Special to the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 12.

[16]Associated Press report in the *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), September 13.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*National Republican* (Washington), September 18.

be reported by every paper in the country. Almost wistfully he sought the impossible—to tour the country simply as a citizen, pleading his case on its merits. Such had been his habit in Tennessee. Techniques of speech preparation and attitudes toward subject matter were transferred bodily from Tennessee to the national scene. But in 1866 he was President of the United States. Alert reporters hung on every word, flashing their stories by telegraph across the country. Johnson failed to realize how that fact might lower his effectiveness, on the one hand, with those who first read and then heard his ideas and favorite expressions, and on the other, with the many millions of newspaper readers who would never hear his voice but whose votes in the congressional elections could prove decisive.

And what of the dominant papers and editors and their attitudes? Newspapers in the sixties boasted of circulation records and quantity of advertising. But they still formed a partisan press sponsored and supported and often supplied with "news" by the party organization, whether Democratic or Republican. Their editors were almost invariably leaders in political organizations. Among the metropolitan papers only the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald* made any gesture toward independence.

Papers were both partisan and personal. Their editors—Horace Greeley of the *Tribune,* Henry J. Raymond of the *Times,* James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald*—stamped each edition with their personal political bias. Factual, impartial reporting was the exception rather than the rule. William Crook was perhaps too harsh when he called "the journals at that time . . . yellow beyond possibility of emulation by the papers of today" (1907), but he was certainly correct in writing that "party feeling and interests ran high, and editors were violently partisan."[19]

Radicals controlled the press—not all of it, but nearly all the powerful Republican papers that loyal northerners had learned to trust during the Civil War. Radical was the *New York Tribune,* with a wide daily circulation in the city and upstate New York, with a tri-weekly edition circulating through several states, and with a large following among small-town newspaper editors throughout the North. Also Radical were the *Chicago Tribune,* already, under Joseph Medill, a rising power in the Middle West, and the *Springfield Republican* and the *Philadelphia Press,* journalistic giants of their day. On March 15 the *Nation* summarized the attitude of the press: "With few exceptions—so few as to be relatively insignificant—the press of the country has sided with Congress in the issue raised by the President."[20] In his *American Journalism,* Frank Luther Mott is more specific:

> For the northern press, this contest meant a division which followed party lines rather closely: the Democratic papers advocating

[19]Crook, *Through Five Administrations,* 105-06.
[20]II (March 15, 1866), 321.

> the moderate course, while the Republican journals nearly all took position with the Radicals. This brought more than sixty per cent of the northern daily papers into opposition to Johnson.[21]

Conservative Republicans favoring moderate presidential reconstruction policies found little comfort in their party press. Two Washington Republican papers supported Johnson: John F. Coyle's *National Intelligencer* and S. P. Hanscom's *National Republican*. So did the *New York Times,* whose editor, Raymond, was a Conservative Republican member of Congress. So did the independent *New York Herald* until Bennett decided the game was lost. Nationally an independent press had yet to be born.

Radical control of the Republican press can easily be understood. Johnson was a Democrat, even though a War Democrat elected on the fusion National Union ticket. After Lincoln's death Conservative Republicans found their battle to control local party machinery, including the party press, nearly hopeless. Party regularity was expected, and editors found it easier and safer to stay regular with the Radical Republicans than to throw support to the President.

Through the long war, moreover, editors had learned to hate, had learned to write the diatribes that grow from hate, had learned to believe implicitly in the inherent wickedness of the South. Successful war journalism required such belief. And after Lincoln's assassination, stories by war prisoners returned from Libby Prison or Andersonville, as well as reports from Carl Schurz and John T. Trowbridge,[22] confirmed their prejudices, fanned anew the flames of sectional hatred, and played into the hands of Radical politicians.

Another factor helped solidify the press behind the Radicals: money talked. Newspaper editors depended not only on party patronage and party support in circulation but also on their advertisers. And the money powers of the country—banks, railroads, land speculators, manufacturers—threw their power behind Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and the so-called Radicals. With Edwin M. Stanton, James Speed, and James Harlan in control respectively of the War Department, the office of the Attorney General, and the Interior Department, even advertisements of the federal government found their way into Radical newspapers. Day after day such advertising appeared side by side with the fiercest denunciations of the President and his policies. One of Johnson's bitterest Ohio critics—the *Columbus Morning Journal*—complained:

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[21]Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, 1942), 369.

[22]Carl Schurz, *Report of Carl Schurz on the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, Senate Executive Document* No. 2, 39 Cong., 1 Sess.; John T. Trowbridge, *The South* (Hartford, 1866).

> Our position as one of the subsidized organs of the Administration is not without serious disadvantages. The pressure upon our columns from government patronage—U.S. Laws published "By authority"—is so great that we are forced to postpone a variety of interesting speeches and other matters in our hands for publication.[23]

Editors with Conservative leanings found it difficult to pay paper bills or printers' wages with presidential gratitude or the satisfaction of supporting a losing cause.

Practically the only journalistic support for the President and his policies came from Democratic papers. They had little choice. Almost without exception they had ardently opposed the Lincoln-Johnson ticket in 1864; now, by a twist of political fate, they found themselves supporting the very man characterized only two years earlier as unfit for public office. Nevertheless, they fell in line: the *New York World, Cincinnati Commercial, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Buffalo Daily Courier, Chicago Times, Pittsburg Daily Post, Indianapolis Daily Herald, Louisville Daily Democrat.* But these were Democratic organs, bought, read, and believed by Democrats. Conservative candidates gained little from their support. Victory in the congressional elections required that they win support from Conservative and moderate Republicans. In the aftermath of the war, Democrats were still the minority party.

Democratic favor proved no unmixed blessing. Republican papers made much of the nature of Johnson's journalistic support. An editorial paragraph from the *Chicago Journal* of September 5 boasted:

> President Johnson and his friends have only one newspaper organ in Chicago, and that is the same which, during the war, was the organ of Jeff. Davis and the rebellion. There is not a solitary newspaper in the Northwestern States that was truly loyal during the war—that is, not one that was not a vile copperhead organ—that is not now opposed to President Johnson and his rebel-supporting policy.

The one "organ" mentioned by the *Journal* was the *Chicago Times,* whose editor—Wilbur F. Storey—was a "very ogre of Copperheadism." Another Johnson paper was the *Albany Argus,* "known as an extreme sympathizer with the South." And the pro-administration *New York World* had been suspended for two days in May, 1864, because it published a forged draft proclamation calling for four hundred thousand men.[24]

Support from southern sources proved equally embarrassing. Radical papers cited praise for Johnson in the southern press, then asked whether

[23]Editorial, September 11.
[24]Mott, *American Journalism,* 357.

such support did not prove the President untrustworthy. When Johnson was invited to extend his speaking tour to include Memphis, the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* for September 8 thought the President might prove an inspiration:

> The Memphis Avalanche says that the presence of the President in Memphis will make all the Radicals in that city tremble and fly to their holes. We should expect some such result. If the mere effects of his policy, dictated from Washington, could bring about the massacre of loyal people at New Orleans and Memphis, how inspiring must be the sight of his face and the sound of his voice to the rebel assassins?

The President had no better luck with weekly or monthly magazines. Two weekly periodicals primarily concerned with current events boasted nationwide circulation. Both—Edwin Lawrence Godkin's *Nation* and George William Curtis's *Harper's Weekly*—stood with Congress on reconstruction. The *North American Review,* the *Independent,* and the *Atlantic Monthly* all supported Congress and the Radicals.[25]

Radical Republicans swept the Maine elections while Johnson was still on his speaking tour. For this or a combination of reasons several of the President's journalistic supporters fled the sinking Conservative ship. Among the first to go was Bennett of the *Herald:*

> The manager of the New York Herald recalled its special reporters who accompanied the President, when he reached Springfield, Illinois . . . it was decided that "the humble individual" who is perambulating the country, was "played out."[26]

Jubilant Radical editors hailed each convert with "I told you so" and kept a gleeful box score of Conservative defections:

> The President's course has not only alienated such sheets as the New York Herald, but such respectable journals as the New York Evening Post, the New York Commercial Advertiser, and the New York Sun—all of which have until recently supported the chief features of his policy.[27]

During the 1866 campaign Johnson found himself at sword's points with most of the influential northern papers. Not unpopular with the working press, the President gave reporters no special consideration during his swing around the circle and put his trust completely in the spoken word. When

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[25]See for example E. P. Whipple's articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "The President and Congress," XVII (April, 1866), 500-07; "The Johnson Party," XVIII (September, 1866), 374-81. See also Anonymous, "The Conspiracy at Washington," *ibid.*, XX (November, 1867), 633-38.

[26]*Missouri Democrat*, September 13.

[27]Editorial paragraph in the *Rochester* (New York) *Daily Democrat*, September 19.

news stories caricatured his tour, and editorials attacked his policies, Johnson lashed back with bitter phrases. While Republican papers joined in an almost unanimous chorus of attack upon Johnson and presidential reconstruction, Democratic organs found themselves in unexpected agreement with his policies but could scarcely be expected to defend his personality with any enthusiasm. Even the support of Democratic journals and of southern papers was turned into a political liability by astute Radical editors.

RADICAL REACTIONS TO THE SWING AROUND THE CIRCLE

When the President left Washington, the Radical propaganda line was to ignore the President. The Radical-dominated Wilmington city council refused to organize a reception, while in Philadelphia the mayor and other city authorities conspicously ignored the President.[28] Radical papers like the *New York Tribune* and Washington's *Daily Morning Chronicle* gave scant news coverage and kept the tour out of editorial columns.

This strategy backfired. The people took the matter into their hands and organized their own receptions and demonstrations without benefit of Republican editors and politicos. The Radical strategy of ignoring the President resulted in one continuous ovation through the early days of the swing around the circle. Johnson had to be attacked directly.

Radical Republicans sometimes offered serious reasoned arguments: Johnson's tender policies toward the South had led to the Memphis and New Orleans riots and southern black codes and might lead to repudiation of the national debt and southern domination of Congress; Congress merely exercised its constitutional prerogatives in proposing the fourteenth amendment; the South could not yet be trusted to mold its own destiny, including that of its black citizens. These and similar arguments were open and aboveboard, the kind of reasoned challenge that the President expected and answered in his speeches and official papers.

In much of the Radical press, however, reasoned argument took second place to attacks upon the speaking tour or the President's personality. The trip broke political precedent. Never before had a President of the United States launched a nationwide stump-speaking tour. This fact, coupled with the ostensibly ceremonial purpose of the trip—to participate in the ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone for the Douglas monument in Chicago —gave the Radical press a handle for attack.

His speeches, Radical editors argued repeatedly, should be nonpolitical, ceremonial, full of pleasant nothings. Godkin in the *Nation* urged that

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[28]At Delmonico's in New York City, Secretary of State Seward satirized Philadelphia, "the only city which asked whether we should have a formal or informal reception. I answered, 'just as they pleased.' And when we got there we found the city disorganized and ungoverned—no Mayor, no city authorities, no police . . . ." *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 1.

Johnson confine himself "to simple, good-humored commonplaces, such as great men usually address to crowds . . . ." Anything else was a grave breach of presidential decorum, an insult to the highest office in the nation.[29]

Even in their strongest attacks and sharpest language Johnson's speeches were no more violent than Radical onslaughts by Thaddeus Stevens, Ben Butler, "Parson" W. G. Brownlow, and others in and out of Congress. Often these utterances were printed alongside Johnson's during the swing around the circle. But the President's position made him particularly vulnerable to attacks based upon ceremony and dignity.

The Radical press also felt free to describe the receptions accorded the President and his party as cold at best or actively unfriendly upon many occasions. For example, at Buffalo the *Courier* told of enthusiasm and a warm welcome, and the *Evening Post* described an "immense outpouring of the people." Buffalo's Radical Republican *Express* pictured the same reception as "a popular cold shoulder" with "frigid silence" along the President's route.[30] Many of the readers of all three papers had seen the event and could judge for themselves the warmth of Johnson's reception.

After the President's Cleveland speech the *Toledo Commercial* described "a perfect storm of derisions, taunts, and sarcasm," which "disconcerted the President" and resulted in "a most disrespectful and humiliating wrangle." Upon seeing that report the editor of the *Cleveland Herald,* who about this time left his fence-sitting position to cast his lot with the Radicals, denied its accuracy:

> The reporter of the Commercial, if present on Monday evening, wilfully misrepresented the affair. We hope, for his own credit, he was imposed upon by an untruthful informant.
>
> The President was courteously received, and the crowd perfectly well behaved at the opening of the speech. It was not until something was said to which some ill-mannered men took exception, that any interruption occurred. The whole thing in the above extract is so highly wrought, so unduly colored, and so palpably false, that no one present on Monday evening would dream it could be intended as a truthful picture of the scene.[31]

Fresh fuel was thrown on the Radical journalistic fire by another heckling session at St. Louis, a riot at Indianapolis, and by the refusal of New Market (Ohio), Steubenville (Ohio), and Pittsburg crowds to hear the President.

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[29]III (September 6, 1866), 181.

[30]*Buffalo Evening Post,* September 3; *Buffalo Morning Express,* September 4; *Buffalo Courier,* September 4.

[31]Editorial, September 6.

When Johnson spoke in Buffalo or Cleveland or St. Louis, the home-town papers could get their own stories. Some few metropolitan journals, mostly in New York or Chicago, could afford to send a special reporter with the presidential party. All the rest had to depend upon pickups from friendly journals or the telegraphed reports of the Associated Press. The moderately neutral AP failed to satisfy many of its more violent customers, such as the *Cincinnati Gazette.*

Even though the wire story might be favorable or at least neutral, the local editor supplied the headline. Streamer headlines were still unknown, but one-column heads dangled a quarter or halfway down the page, bank upon bank. Making up in vertical distance what they had not yet gained horizontally, these headlines caught the eyes of newspaper readers and in their detail may have furnished the whole story as seen by many a busy professional man or housewife.

Here is an example of the way headlines could reverse the meaning of an Associated Press story printed on September 1 by the Radical *Cincinnati Gazette:*

> Albany, N.Y., Aug. 31.—The President and party were accompanied to the cars for Auburn by a military escort, and thousands of persons were in attendance at the railroad station. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and cheers were repeatedly given. These demonstrations were continued until the train was lost in the distance . . . .

What was the headline? "The Electioneering Tour; The 'Humble Individual' Makes a Number of Speeches." On September 10 the *Gazette* used the following headlines over an AP story on Johnson's St. Louis speech, the report originating with the pro-administration *Missouri Republican:*

> The National Disgrace.
> Electioneering Tour of the President.
> The Party in St. Louis.
> Banquet at the Southern Hotel.
> Extraordinary Harangue by the President.
> Mr. Johnson Surpasses in Blasphemy and Ribaldry all his previous efforts—Compares Himself to the Savior of Mankind—Defends the New Orleans Murderers—Pours out a Torrent of Vile and Intemperate Abuse Against the Congress of the United States—Unparalleled Effusion of Profanity, Vulgarity and Slang—Sense, Decency and Grammar all Discarded—Seward lets off a lot of Glittering Generalities—Future Movements of the Excursionists.

Then, as now, editorializing was not restricted to the proper columns.

Sometimes Radical editors did not trust the wire-service story and assigned

a special reporter of known political allegiance or depended upon special correspondence from party faithfuls. For example, in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for September 6 two stories on page one present contrasting pictures of the President's reception in Chicago. The regular AP report told of "constant huzzahs and calls for the President and General Grant" and said, "The President was received with repeated cheers." A special report to the *Gazette* gave this description:

> The President and party arrived here tonight at 10 o'clock from Detroit, via the N.C.R.R. . . . A large audience was in attendance, anxious to get a glimpse of the heroes accompanying the man of many I's . . . .
>
> Johnson stood up in the carriage and bowed his best, but he met with a very cold reception. Not a cheer was given him, and his name was not mentioned . . . .

These examples from the *Gazette* could be matched in most of the Radical Republican newspapers.

Thus the Radical Republican press followed a strategy of success: the President's tour was a discrediting failure, as this gross breach of political precedent richly deserved. If the people turned out to line the parade route, reporters either did not see them or attributed their enthusiasm to Johnson's military companions, Grant and Farragut. If the people applauded, they did so only from a sense of politeness or to honor the distinguished victors of Civil War battles. Radical editors told the story so frequently, they and their friends in politics may have come to believe it themselves. The story was probably effective, since people like to bet on a winner in horse racing or politics.

ATTACKS UPON JOHNSON'S PERSONALITY

When Johnson took the stump, he made himself one of the major issues of the campaign. This was perhaps inevitable, though his quickness to lash back at any criticism made him particularly vulnerable. Personalities, therefore, became an important part of Radical campaign strategy, editors and politicians never hesitating to strike below the belt.

As pictured by the Radical press Johnson was an illiterate, crude, egotistical southerner pouring forth wildeyed harangues at unfriendly mobs. This portrait contained one spark of truth: Johnson was a southerner, from the Volunteer State of Tennessee. But the Radical reporters exaggerated differences in pronunciation, noted with care all errors in grammar, and exaggerated these and other failings beyond all possible significance.

As an excuse for not publishing the St. Louis speech the *Chicago Journal*[62] called it "one of the most illy-conceived of his many disgusting harangues."

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[62]Editorial, September 11.

The *Missouri Democrat* for September 10 called this same speech "The Plea of a Demagogue," adding:

> St. Louis has to thank Andrew Johnson for the longest, the meanest, and the most demagogical harangue he has uttered since he became President. A speech as foolish in its statements, as it was vulgar in tone, ungrammatical in expression, and muddy and incoherent in style. A reader might suppose that the speaker was drunk, but he was not. We must accept this insolent, tricky, illogical, and altogether vulgar harangue, as the best that the President of the United States can do.

The *Rochester Democrat* for September 7 called President Johnson "a strange being," adding that "his mind seems as differently constituted from the human mind generally as we might imagine an inhabitant of the moon to differ physically from terrestrial beings . . . ."

By suggestion almost as much as by direct statement, Radical newspapers conveyed to their readers the impression that the entire presidential tour was a gigantic drunken spree undertaken by a debauched company. In its news story of President Johnson's reception in Chicago, the *Tribune* for September 6 wrote:

> A. Johnson, the "humble individual," after one or two ineffectual attempts to land in the gutter, was handed or rather lifted into the buggy awaiting his august presence and the column moved.

On September 8 the *Muscatine* (Iowa) *Journal* called the pilgrimage "nothing more or less than a big drunk," continuing: "When we reflect upon the solemn object of the journey, we just blush in crimson at this monstrous impropriety, this cold-blooded impiety . . . a President of the United States reeling to Chicago." A few days later, on September 11, the *Journal* described the ceremonies at Alton, ending its account:

> The party then went aboard the steamer Andy Johnson, where we leave them for the present with the interesting announcement that there is a very good bar on that boat. The President and Seward have not suffered from Alton to St. Louis, from want of brandy-and-water.

Immediately after the Cleveland speech the *Cincinnati Commercial* editorialized:

> The President confessed himself mad and went in with a will. His friends excuse the matter to-day by declaring he was too drunk to be responsible for his acts during his speech. He was frequently prompted by some one at his side.[33]

[33]Copied by the *Cleveland Daily Leader*, September 7.

This was a false picture. In its saner moments even the Radical press admitted it. On September 10, in the editorial cited earlier, the *Missouri Democrat* said so. After the Cleveland speech the Radical *Lorain County News,* much nearer the scene than the *Cincinnati Commercial,* which called Johnson drunk, had this to say:

> It would be charity to suppose Andrew Johnson was drunk last Monday evening but we are not allowed to believe it. With sorrow it must be confessed that so poor an excuse can not be given for conduct that sinks the President of the United States below a decent contempt.[34]

Under such attack what chance had the President? He was damned because he was and damned because he was not.

At least two reliable witnesses testified on this point, one under oath before a House investigating committee. Major Benjamin C. Truman served as Johnson's secretary both as military governor and President. Many years later he wrote:

> . . . the only time that he was ever under the influence of liquor in his life the whole nation saw him, either with their eyes or read of it, and upon an occasion when he should have been absolutely sober—I mean when he was inaugurated as Vice-President on the fourth of March, 1865.
>
> . . . Johnson had always been considered a temperate man in all things . . . . during the famous "swing around the circle," the Radical papers characterized that tour as a drunken revel. As a member of the party I can say that there was no drunkenness at all on the trip. Johnson, who had given up whiskey for sherry, indulged in but little of the latter, and Grant drank not at all.[35]

Lawrence A. Gobright, who represented the AP on the swing around the circle, testified as follows before the House committee preparing impeachment charges against President Johnson:

> Q. Mr. Gobright, it is apparent what was meant by Mr. Williams in inquiring if the President was laboring under great excitement. I want to know of you whether Mr. Johnson was drunk on that trip.
>
> A. I here most solemnly say that I *cannot* affirm that Andrew Johnson was drunk. I cannot say that he did not drink; but, to my knowledge, he was not at any time what might be denominated drunk. He was not under the influence of drink, as many have supposed. I conversed with him frequently in the cars, at all points. He could always walk straight, and speak

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] "Anecdotes of Andrew Johnson," *loc. cit.,* 437-38.

without stammering. I think his course was that of temperance, to say the least.

Q. Was he at any time, while making any of those speeches excited with liquor?

A. I do not think he was . . . .

Q. Were you with him all the time?

A. I was, from the starting till the return.

Q. Do you know of his drinking anything except wine?

A. I cannot say what he drank. I could not tell the character of the liquor. I did not make it a matter of investigation.

Q. Can you state whether, to your knowledge, the President drank intemperately on that journey?

A. I do not think he did. Not to my knowledge. That is my opinion, if it was the last word I had to say.[36]

Gobright's words appear much stronger when the strong bias of the committee against the President is remembered.

The picture of Johnson's drunkenness on the swing around the circle was, therefore, false. Was it an effective instrument of Radical propaganda? Probably yes, answers James Truslow Adams in his *March of Democracy*,[37] arguing that "By some queer trick in our psychology we seem always willing, without proof, to believe the worst of any one who has risen to high position."

Having done their utmost to incite the people against their President, Radical journalists generally disclaimed responsibility for the results. For example, take the leading editorial in the Radical *Pittsburg Evening Chronicle* for September 13, just before President Johnson arrived:

> The President's Reception
>
> If anything occurs to mar the harmony of the President's reception in this city, our press will have no part of the responsibility. Every daily paper published here has counselled our citizens to deport themselves with propriety, and not to indulge in altercations with the President.
>
> Let him make his speech in peace . . . .
>
> The people now have the united counsel of their journals. Their counsel is, to treat the President and party with courtesy, or to stay away altogether from the reception.

Johnson attempted to speak from the balcony of the St. Charles Hotel but was howled down by a Pittsburg mob.[38] In view of the constant Radical attacks on the idea of a political speaking tour and upon Johnson personally, attacks in which the *Evening Chronicle* shared, what else should have been expected? Certainly slanted press reports of the earlier phases of the swing

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[36]House Committee Report No. 7, *Reports of Committees*, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., 527-28.

[37]*The March of Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1933), II, 119.

[38]Associated Press report carried by the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 14.

around the circle conditioned the audiences which gathered at Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburg, and other points along the route home to Washington. Radical journalists stirred up a hornet's nest, then sat back with folded hands in mock dismay at the results.

THREE MASTERS OF PROPAGANDA

The congressional elections of 1866 brought to the fore three masters of the fine art of propaganda. It was unfortunate for Johnson and presidential reconstruction that all three of these skilled workmen stood on the Radical side of the political fence.

First was David R. Locke of the *Toledo Blade*. He wrote in popular, ungrammatical style a series of letters under the pseudonym of Petroleum V. Nasby. Written from "Confedrit X Roads, (Wich is in the Stait uv Kentucky)," they gained wide popularity during the war years. President Lincoln enjoyed them. When Charles Sumner confessed to Lincoln that he had never heard of Nasby, the President let the affairs of state stand still for twenty minutes while he read Sumner the latest of the Nasby letters.[39]

During President Johnson's tour the Nasby letters[40] were printed almost as widely as the President's speeches. It does not take much journalistic imagination to judge which were more widely read. As a send-off for the presidential party Locke wrote:

> Every wun of the civilians uv the party wore buzzum pins, et settry, wich wuz presented to em by the Southern delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, wich wuz made uv the bones uv Federal soldiers wich hed fallen at various battles. Sum uv em were partikerly valuable ez anteeks, hevin bin made from the bones uv the first soldiers who fell at Bull Run.[41]

Through all the eccentricities of his phonetic spelling, Locke made sure that his description never became hard to read.

Nasby (Locke) used such endearing epithets as "His Imperial Serenity" in referring to the President. Egotism, poor grammar, drinking—the same points chosen by other Radical journalists for less-effective attack in news stories and editorial paragraphs—became choice instruments of satire under Locke's facile pen. For example, after the party passed Cincinnati, Nasby, always pretending to take Johnson's side, "answered" criticisms of the President's repetitious speeches:

> Cincinnatti.—Another man, who wuz also unsophisticated, asked him, confidenshally, ef he didn't think there wuz samenis in his

[39]David Ross Locke, *The Nasby Letters* (Toledo, 1893), "Introduction."
[40]Collected as a book in David Ross Locke, *Swingin Round the Cirkle* (Boston, 1868), 205-28. Illustrated by Thomas Nast.
[41]*Ibid.*, 205.

speeches, and that ef he didn't think he'd do better to give a greater variety. His Eggselency asked him how there cood be more variety. 'At Cincinnati,' sed he, 'I observed the followin order:

1. I swung around the cirkle.
2. I asked who wuz the Savior ef I wuz Joodis Iskariot?
3. I left the Constitush, the 36 States, and the flag with 36 stars onto it in their hands.

Now at Columbus I shel vary it thusly:

1. The Constitooshun, flag, and stars.
2. The Joodis Iskariot bizness.
3. Swingin around the cirkle.

At Stoobenville, agin, ez follows:

1. Joodis Iskariot.
2. Swingin around the cirkle.
3. Constitooshn, flag and stars.'

Even the tragedies of the presidential expedition failed to escape Locke's relentless sarcasm. After the collapse of a platform at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, with several killed and many injured, Johnson ordered one of his aides to remain to give all possible assistance to the sufferers and sent back his personal check for five hundred dollars for relief of suffering.[42] The relevant Nasby letter read:

> Johnstown, Pa.—A platform fell down, onto which was 400 voters, killin a dozen uv em. His Eggslency felt releeved when heerin of the axident, at bein asshured that ther wuzn't wun uv his supporters on the platform. He considered it a speshl Providence. The condukter overheerd the remark and ansurd that ef eny uv his supporters wuz killed in that sekshun they'd have to import wun for the purpose.[43]

At the end of the tour Locke's summary combined the familiar "bread and butter" charges against executive patronage with a caricatured summary of Johnson's speeches and a special footnote calling attention to the original purpose of the expedition:

> At last we arrived at Washington, hevin swung entirely around the cirkle and found traitors North and South. The demonstrashen to greet the President on his arrival wuz immense. The clerks in all the Departments wuz out, (at least them ez wuzn't will wish they hed bin, ez their names wuz all taken,) the solgers on dooty ordered out, and altogether it wuz the most spontaneous exhibishen I ever witnest. The Mayor made a speech. The President replied—If he wuz Joodis Iskariot who wuz the Savior—told him he hed swung around the entire cirkle and hed found traitors on all sides uv it, tho' sence he left Cleveland, Chicago and Indianapolis, he

[42] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 15; *Daily Morning Chronicle* (Washington), September 15.

[43] Locke, *Swingin Round the Cirkle*, 226.

wuz satisfied there wuz the heft uv them in the North, but be this ez it may, he left the Constooshun and the thirty-six States, and the flag with thirty-six stars onto it in his hands. He hed bin Alderman uv his native village, and Congressman, and United States Senator, and Vice President, which latter circumstance he considered forchinit, but wuz, after all, an Humble Indivijile. He didn't feel hiz oats much, and wood do his dooty agin traitors North, ez well ez agin his misguided friends South.

And so ended the Presidenshel excursion.

Petroleum V. Nasby P.M.
(wich is Postmaster,)
(and likewise chaplin to
the expedishen.)

P.S. I forgot to menshun that at Chicago we laid the corner stone uv a monument to Douglas. The occurrence had almost slipped my memory.

P.V.N.[44]

Second among these masters of propaganda was Thomas Nast, artist and cartoonist for *Harper's Weekly*. In 1862 he began sketching war pictures. In 1863 he drew his first cartoon at the expense of General Benjamin F. Butler and the London *Times*. By the end of the war his cartoons were known across the nation, and he had won a following that was to prove a powerful asset to Editor George William Curtis in his attacks upon Johnson and presidential reconstruction.

Though not the only artist working for *Harper's Weekly,* Nast was probably the most effective and certainly the best propagandist. In a day before photoengraving, line drawings of skilled artists served as illustrations. If one picture is worth a thousand words, Radical politicians owed a deep debt of gratitude to the pen of Thomas Nast. His drawings showed little of the light touch of David R. Locke. Powerful ridicule, sharp caricature, and bitter satire characterized his work.

In Andrew Johnson, Nast found an ideal subject for ridicule. Among the more famous Nast cartoons attacking Johnson are those picturing him as Iago trying to persuade the Negro that he was his friend;[45] as a snake charmer blowing on a flute named "Constitution" while a huge copperhead encircles a struggling black man before him;[46] as King Andrew, enthroned with crown and scepter, looking on while Seward directs the beheading of Greeley, Beecher, Sumner, and other prominent Radicals.[47] The arm-in-arm Philadelphia convention of conservative Republicans and Democrats provided another choice subject, complete with padlocked lips and crocodile

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[44]*Ibid.*, 227-28.
[45]*Harper's Weekly*, X (September 1, 1866), 552-53.
[46]*Ibid.*
[47]*Ibid.*, X (November 3, 1866), 696.

tears.[48] Most of these cartoons have been widely reprinted by American historians writing on the reconstruction period.

Nast's services did not end with the defeat of Johnson and presidential reconstruction. He is perhaps best known to students of American history for his part in defeating New York's Tweed Ring. But if this was the climax of Nast's career, reconstruction was at least a first battle.

Both Locke and Nast had wide appeal for large numbers of the literate, voting American public. Theirs were popular products: newspaper columns in the form of "letters" and drawings for a weekly magazine. The third great artist of Radical propaganda wrote not for the masses but for the classes. His special appeal captured the New England intelligentsia, who constituted, at least in their own minds, the true aristocracy of the New World.

James Russell Lowell's *North American Review* was too "highbrow" for mass circulation like that given the Nasby letters or the Nast cartoons; but the *Review* had a large class circulation, especially in the Northeast. When, in October, its editor lashed out with "The Seward-Johnson Reaction,"[49] his words had considerable influence.

Lowell gives no hint of having seen or heard Johnson speak during his swing around the circle. It seems entirely probable, since the President did not enter New England, that Lowell got no nearer the President than a cheerful book-encircled study in literary Cambridge. This made no difference. Johnson's passionate defense of the Constitution and the Union trespassed on Lowell's standards of decorum and dignity. The President was "the apostolate of the new creed," impure, using shocking language, making an "exhibition of himself." Seward was to be pitied "in his new office of bear-leader. How he must hate his Bruin when it turns out that his tricks do not even please the crowd!"

As for the trip itself, this was an "indecent orgy" for the discreditable purpose of honoring a man "not associated with a single measure of national importance, unless upon the wrong side." The whole procedure became for Lowell "the late unhappy exposure of the unseemly side of democratic institutions . . . ." It was an "advertising-tour of a policy in want of a party . . . ." The North, concluded Lowell, must have the victory for which she fought—"the Americanization of all America, nothing more and nothing less."

Undoubtedly Lowell had wide influence with the so-called intellectual aristocracy that read the *North American Review*. James Ford Rhodes, famous American historian, was greatly impressed:

> This is a strong piece of political satire . . . . The circulation of

[48] *Ibid.*, X (September 29, 1866), 617.
[49] *North American Review* (Boston, New York), CIII (October, 1866), 520-49.

> the Review was probably small and I do not know how extensively extracts from these articles were copied in the press. But Lowell's articles, and in a very much less degree Curtis's [bitter attack on Douglas] as a background, made a very effective campaign document. I remember well their powerful impression on me at the time; and in re-reading them I comprehend their potency.[50]

From Lowell, Rhodes took his description of the swing around the circle as a drunken spree and "indecent orgy" and in so doing set a pattern followed by many succeeding historians.

These were the great propaganda artists of the post-war period: Locke, Nast, Lowell. Johnson had nothing on his side to compare with their potent pens. And Radical control of the northern press gave their ideas wide circulation and supplemented their work with additional caricature provided by a host of less famous reporters and editors. Almost everyone who saw the Republican press saw this distorted picture and nothing else.

When a keen thinker and usually fair-minded historian like James Ford Rhodes believed this picture, is it not probable that the caricature received even greater credence from the uncritical man on the street? No historian or rhetorical critic dealing with the battle over reconstruction can afford to ignore the potent influence of the press in determining the attitudes of the people of the North. In a day before radio and movies, to say nothing of television, the press played a major role in determining public opinion. First, it conditioned the audience that heard the President, creating, especially after the first week of the tour, an unfavorable attitude even before he opened his mouth. Second, it helped determine the reaction of the President's ultimate "audience," the voters of the North, in the congressional elections of 1866.

In evaluating the effectiveness of the President's speeches on his swing around the circle historians have perhaps stressed too much what Andrew Johnson said and did—or what the historians thought he said and did—and too little what the Radical Republican newspapers of the northern states said that he said and did. The way in which the speeches and the tour were reported may have been a more potent influence in the elections than the speeches and tour in themselves. William H. Crook, the President's faithful secretary and a member of the touring party, summarized the situation thus:

> These unfortunate scenes [Cleveland and St. Louis] were immediately telegraphed over the country, with every embellishment possible. They lost the President the elections; gave the Radicals an overwhelming majority; made possible the horrors of congressional reconstruction.

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[50] *History of the United States . . .*, 9 vols. (New York, 1912), V, 620.

> After this there was no possibility of stemming the tide of unpopularity. The President figured in the public mind as almost a monster.[51]

Johnson never learned to get on well with the nation's press. Accustomed to stump speaking, he understood and trusted the power of oral persuasion, not written. For this reason, in addition to the fact that his administration had no strong press support to carry his message to the people, he undertook his famous swing around the circle before the congressional elections of 1866. Face to face with the people of the United States he argued his case for restoration and reconciliation and against the stern punishment demanded by Radical Republican leaders in Congress.

Although he may not have realized his extremity, Johnson's swing around the circle was a last desperate effort to turn the tide of battle and preserve the essentials of Lincoln-Johnson presidential reconstruction. For all his unwearied capacity for popular oratory, however, the President could see only a fraction of those judges to whom he appealed his case, the people of the nothern states. Most voters, including many who saw his parades or caught a distant glimpse of the presidential party, never heard Johnson's voice and argument. They saw the tour and heard the arguments through the eyes and ears of the press. What the papers said about the tour was probably a more potent influence in the elections than Johnson's own words and deeds. When the President returned to Washington most political observers agreed that it was all over but the shouting. Radical politicians and editors had the situation well in hand. The South was in for a rough time.

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[51]Crook, *Through Five Administrations*, 111.

A STUDY OF SOME DEVELOPING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONARY TENNESSEE

By Carol Furlong Young

To obtain a reasonably accurate picture of the Tennessee country during the period of the American Revolution, one would naturally turn to histories and other scholarly works dealing with this era. Yet if one looks into several histories dealing with a particular topic, one discovers that even in supposedly factual works a latitude of interpretation exists often bordering on the contradictory.

Although no historian can avoid presenting his own interpretation of the events with which he deals, ideally that interpretation should be as objective and devoid of bias as possible. However, when it comes to issues which have been highly charged with emotion, not only do contemporary reports present conflicting opinions and versions, but many later attempts to evaluate the matter cannot seem to escape echoing some of the partisanship of the original participants. Thus a man writing about events of the Revolutionary decade several generations later may, because of his sources of information or methods of investigation, present the brief for one side of a long past disagreement, a second author the argument of the opposing side, while a third, more thorough scholar, may present a view which is closer to the truth. When it comes to a clash such as that between Tory and Patriot, in which one faction quite decisively triumphed over the other, the historical versions at variance are more likely to be limited mainly to two: one reflecting the sentiments of the victors, and the other, which seeks to roll back the aura of right which prevailing might has created and present the situation more objectively. Between them, of course, will be versions embodying varying degrees of either extreme.

Possibly no question of allegiance in America's history has bequeathed such lasting sentiments of pride and self-righteousness or shame and stigma as did that which developed during the American War for Independence. The fact that the issue was one of National independence rather than some less vital question made opposition to the Patriots a heinous sin in the eyes of victorious contemporaries and their descendants.

Only recently a revealing example of the extent to which such lingering feelings can hamper the historian's endeavors came to light. The occasion was the belated publication, in 1942, of a diary kept by some unknown Loyalist member of Pat Ferguson's army who was killed at the Battle of King's Mountain. When the historian-collector, Lyman C. Draper, was in western North Carolina during the 1870's gathering material for his *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, he called upon the owner of the diary but was not

allowed to learn of its existence, because there happened to be pasted into the same book a pass to the owner's great-grandfather signed by Pat Ferguson. By concealing the existence of that pass the owner of the diary made it more certain that his ancestor would be recorded in Draper's work as a man of neutral sympathies rather than as a Tory; but at the same time he also kept from the historian's eyes the more valuable information in the anonymous diary![1]

Although the embryonic state of Tennessee, having little concern with questions of taxation and representation, or the rights and liberties of English citizens,[2] was outside of many of the currents of the American Revolution, the years 1776 to 1781 were ones of lively action in the then North Carolina back country. Patriots and Tories here were in many respects different sorts of men, having different aims and motives, from those who were so labeled in the older, settled, east; but the animosities which flared between the two on the frontier were just as violent. And this violence is reflected by the attempts of writers on Tennessee history to portray the events of the Revolutionary era. With their differing interpretations they reveal that for the historian of the frontier, as well as of the seaboard colonies, the virulence of feeling and the completeness of the Patriot triumph have colored the attempts to present the truth.

One way in which one would expect the Revolution-engendered propaganda of the victors to affect writing on the era would be in regard to the presentation of the defeated—the character of the Tories and the accounts of their activities. But there is also the likelihood that the version of other events which was "patriotic" at the time of the struggle may prevail for generations, not only as a distortion of viewpoint, but in some instances as the repetition of completely false impressions.

The history of Tennessee offers a striking example of such distortion in the manner in which its various compilers have treated the action of the British Indian agents among the Cherokees during the war years. Not until one hundred and seventy-five years after the Revolution was there serious challenge to the popular version of this question, after it had been repeated, if not embellished, with complete assurance by many reputable authors. Indeed, a reader at the turn of the century would have been unable to pick out this issue as a controversial one in historical interpretation.

The tale of how John Stuart, British superintendent of Indian affairs in the south from 1761 to 1779, plotted the Cherokee attack upon the early Tennessee settlements as part of England's strategy against the colonies is

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[1]Mary Hardin McCown (ed.), "A King's Mountain Diary," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 14 (1942), 102-05.

[2]Isaac S. Harrell, "North Carolina Loyalists," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), III (October, 1926), 579; Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: a Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 44.

found over and over again in the nineteenth century writings with only minor alterations. Upon Stuart's agent among the Cherokees, Alexander Cameron, and Henry Stuart, brother of the superintendent and special agent to the area in 1775, is placed the immediate responsibility for rousing the tribes to fall upon the frontier. In addition to citing this as commonly accepted general knowledge, many authors offer as evidence of the British designs a letter signed by Henry Stuart, in which he warned loyal settlers of a coming attack and advised them to give written proof of their allegiance to the Crown to save themselves and their families from ruin, since "it is not the desire of his Majesty to set his friends and allies, the Indians, on his liege subjects."[3]

Probably the earliest writer to deal with this subject, Moses Fisk, writing in 1816, saw only the local villain, Cameron, behind the scenes. And in Fisk's early narration we have the first statement of the oft repeated view that with knowledge of British plottings, the early Tennesseeans resolved immediately and unanimously to participate in the struggle for independence.[4] Judge John Haywood, first historian of Tennessee, makes no mention of Henry Stuart or his letter, but adds to the story the difficulties which Cameron, working under John Stuart's instructions, encountered in convincing the Indian tribes that men who spoke the same language could be fighting one another—a situation quite out of the savage ken—and then in persuading them, by generous promises, to participate in the English scheme.[5] J. W. M. Brazeale, in a quaintly titled volume published in 1842, also makes mention of only Cameron as working among the Cherokees,[6] and it was only with the appearance in 1853 of Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*[7] that a further step in the investigation of the affair was made.

Indeed, in Ramsey may be found the first full account of the British guilt version which was to be completely accepted for so long. Henry Stuart's position as special agent to carry out the war plans is made clear, and his letter "proving" British policy is quoted along with the account of

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[3]Quoted in James G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century: Comprising its Settlement as the Watauga Association, from 1769 to 1777; A Part of North-Carolina, from 1778 to 1790; The Territory of the U. States, South of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796; The State of Tennessee, from 1796 to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1853), 147.

[4]A. V. Goodpasture, "Moses Fisk's Historical Sketch of Tennessee," *The American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), II (January, 1897), 21, 22.

[5]John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1796, Including the Boundaries of the State* (Nashville, 1915), 60. This is an "Exact Reprint of the Edition of 1823, Published by W. H. Haywood, Great-Grandson of the Author."

[6]J. W. M. Brazeale, *Life As It Is; or Matters and Things in General, Containing, Amongst Other Things, Historical Sketches of the Exploration and First Settlement of the State of Tennessee; Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; Their Wars with the Indians; Battle of Kings Mountain; History of the Harps, (Two Noted Murderers); a Satirical Burlesque Upon the Ecclesiastical Incidents; Descriptions of Natural Curiosities; a Collection of Anecdotes Etc.* (Knoxville, 1842), 27.

[7]See note 3.

its mysterious delivery to the gate of Charles Robertson.[8] The unanimity of the settlers' patriotic reaction to this information is stressed, and a new note, absent in earlier writers, of horror at the "murderous" British policy is evident.[9] As does Haywood, Dr. Ramsey mentions the warning of the coming attack sent by Tennessee's "Pocahontas," Nancy Ward,[10] but more significant in fixing guilt on the British is the quoted testimony of traveling traders that whites were to accompany the advancing Indians to seek out and secure loyal subjects before the savages fell upon the settlements.[11]

For the remainder of the century, this was substantially the version which prevailed. W. H. Carpenter,[12] A. W. Putnam,[13] and James Phelan,[14] writing general histories, more or less echo Ramsey's tale with varying degrees or horror at the "cruel and wicked designs"[15] of Britain. By 1889 Teddy Roosevelt, summing up the situation, was inclined to view the matter more tolerantly. The Indians, natural enemies of the settlers and allies of the British, were tools ready at hand for the latter; it was probably too much to expect restraint on their part. Nonetheless, responsibility for instigating the savages with promises of arms, plunder, and blankets was Britain's.[16] But with James Gilmore, in 1891, the orthodox note of indignation was restored. Although John and Henry Stuart appear in the properly villainous light, especial odium is placed upon Alexander Cameron, who is given the added spur of personal enmity toward patriot heroes John Sevier and James Robertson to motivate his plotting of the "midnight massacre"[17] in his sovereign's service.

Among the twentieth century writers one can still find historians advancing this view, which was standard for the nineteenth. However, from 1921 on, there also emerge writings in which the British agents begin to appear as something less than the absolute villains of the early Revolution in Tennessee. A foreshadowing of the revised view of John Stuart's activities is found in the history of the parent state, North Carolina, by Samuel Ashe, in which he states briefly and without documentation, that Stuart had at first urged the Indians to neutrality. However, the effect of this is somewhat

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[8]Ramsey, *Annals*, 147.
[9]*Ibid.*, 161.
[10]*Ibid.*, 151.
[11]*Ibid.*, 149.
[12]W. H. Carpenter, *The History of Tennessee; from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, [c1854]), 113.
[13]A. W. Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee; or Life and Times of General James Robertson* (Nashville, 1859), 50-51.
[14]James Phelan, *History of Tennessee; The Making of a State* (Boston, 1888), 41-43.
[15]Putnam, *Middle Tennessee*, 51.
[16]Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West; An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Our Country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific*, New Library edition, 6 vols. in 3 (New York, [c1889]), I, 73-74.
[17]James R. Gilmore (Edmund Kirke, pseud.), *The Rear-guard of the Revolution* (New York, 1891), 106.

obscured by a lengthier passage in which he describes Stuart's policies after October, 1777, designed to spur the Indians toward further hostility.[18] Certainly this mild statement in vindication of the early endeavors of the southern Indian agents gave little pause to Francis M. Turner. As he dealt with the problem in his eulogistic biography of John Sevier, he added an embellishment not found in the histories. According to Turner, the whole plan of joint British and Indian attack was conceived by John Stuart, and was then passed on to the British Cabinet, and was adopted over the protests of Lord Chatham. Mr. Turner, however, does admit that the Indians' participation in this scheme was due largely to the spirit of revenge which they harbored toward the encroaching whites.[19]

Archibald Henderson, writing in 1920, covered roughly the same ground as Theodore Roosevelt and similarly accepted British responsibility for the attack on the Tennessee frontier. His work goes on to name Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron as carrying out the southern phase of an overall plan for Indian participation in the Revolution.[20] Considering this stand of Henderson's, Constance Lindsay Skinner's flat denial of any British responsibility for Indian attacks in the Watauga-Holston area is an even more startling reversal of the traditional tale. In her preface Miss Skinner gives especial thanks to Dr. Henderson for his work of comparing her proof with his collection of unpublished manuscript material. But while in her bibliography she qualifies citation of Haywood and Ramsey with a comment as to their error on the Indian question, she fails to take issue with the equally explicit, if not so lengthy, position taken by her predecessor of one year.

The new view which Miss Skinner brought to light is briefly that, whatever the case may have been elsewhere, in the Tennessee area the British made efforts to quiet, rather than to arouse, the Indians. She states that Henry Stuart's letter, as well as others spread to inflame the colonists, were forged, and asserts that Henry Stuart, rather than Nancy Ward, deserves credit for warning the settlers of the coming attack. Both sides sought to enlist the Indians' assistance, though she doubts that either planned savage massacres. Moreover, both sides had long been supplying and continued to furnish the Indians with ammunition, which, incidentally, was by this time vital to the native in his competition for the wildlife of the area. The zeal of the Cherokees for an attack on the frontiersman, which zeal Cameron and Stuart sought to diminish rather than fire, Miss Skinner attributes to general discontent with advancing white settlement, touched by war talk and promises

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[18]Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Greensboro, 1908), I, 487.
[19]Francis M. Turner, *Life of General John Sevier* (New York, 1910), 62.
[20]Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest: the Romantic Story of the Early Pioneers into Virginia, The Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, 1740-1790* (New York, 1920), 261.

of French aid brought by emissaries of the northern tribes just prior to the attack on the settlements.[21]

While Constance Skinner presented most of the points going to make up the revised version of British-Indian activity on the Tennessee frontier, her method of so doing is rather casual for one overthrowing long-established historical "truths." Her style is simple narrative, unhindered by any documentation or references to the sources of her information. While a brief note in the back of the book does explain that the section dealing with the Indian rising is based on the reading of several listed primary sources, there are no illustrations or quotations for the more casual reader, or indications of where the specific pertinent material is located for those with a more scholarly approach. The serious work of presenting the new interpretation by citation of chapter and verse was undertaken by Dr. P. M. Hamer.

Dr. Hamer's opening gambit came in 1930, with the publication in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of an article discussing in a thorough and scholarly manner John Stuart's policies at the outset of the Revolution.[22] To supplement the considerable number of quotations from letters, instructions, etc. of the Stuarts and Cameron in the body of this article, the author also published in the same year, in the same periodical, several additional documents lending further weight to his contentions.[23] These, having to do with the carrying out of those policies on the spot at Watauga by Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron, were elaborated upon in a second article by Hamer which appeared in 1931.[24] Dr. Hamer's history of Tennessee, published in 1933, sums up the results of his investigations on this topic.

From Hamer's work, John Stuart emerges as a man whose efforts among the Indians were grossly unappreciated by those they were designed most to benefit. Only specific orders from General Thomas Gage brought a break in his thirteen years of activity aiming at peace on the frontier; while in keeping with this version of his character is his subsequent warning to his brother, Henry, who was sent to align the tribes on the royal side, "you will understand that an indiscriminate Attack upon the Provinces is not Meant, but to act in the Execution of any concerted Plan to assist his Majesty [*sic*] Troops and Friends in distressing the Rebells and bringing them to a sense of their Duty."[25]

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[21]Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest; A Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (New Haven, 1921), 174-81.

[22]Philip M. Hamer, "John Stuart's Indian Policy During the Early Months of the American Revolution," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XVII (June, 1930), 351-66.

[23]Philip M. Hamer, ed., "Correspondence of Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron with the Wataugans," *ibid.*, XVII (December, 1930), 451-59.

[24]Philip M. Hamer, "The Wataugans and the Cherokee Indians in 1776," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 3 (January, 1931), 108-26.

[25]Quoted in Hamer, "J. Stuart's Policy," *loc. cit.*, 361. In her doctoral dissertation completed at Bryn Mawr College in 1929 but not published until the same year in which Dr. Hamer's second article appeared, Helen L. Shaw also presents John

Hamer's discussion of the role played on the frontier by Cameron and Henry Stuart also differs somewhat from the nineteenth century presentation. Instead of rousing quiescent Indians with promises of land and plunder, their efforts are shown to have been designed to quench the imminent attack, even upon one occasion at some danger to their lives.[26] Rather than engaging in secret plotting, both men sent repeated warnings to the Wataugans, explicitly directed to Patriot and Loyal subject alike,[27] that the Indians were roused to a dangerous degree. Also, their persuasions secured a period of delay ample to have allowed the settlers to move to a more secure position.

While the Henry Stuart letter so long cited as proof of malevolent British designs is not proven false by Dr. Hamer, the possibility that it was forged by Jesse Benton is given full consideration. Also, it is pointed out that the contrast between its tone and that of the earlier communications of Stuart to the settlers gives weight to Stuart's denial of authorship. And as one reads of the mysterious appearance of this document, and of the use to which it was put by the Wataugans, a strong case is made for the possibility that it may have been at least altered.

Not only do the old villains of the piece emerge somewhat the better for a twentieth century examination of the evidence, but the Patriot heroes of Watauga, who traditionally "every settler at once"[28] had declared for the patriot cause at the British warning,[29] lose something of their stature in the bargain. In the new version their chief motivation is seen as not pure patriotism and zeal for liberty and the overthrow of tyranny, but the far more tangible and vital matter to them of preserving their land and settlements. Cameron's pressure for their removal from Indian territory, prior to the rise of any Revolutionary sentiments, showed them that their best chance of retaining their property lay in the defeat of the Indians by the frontiersmen, supported and sponsored by the coastal revolutionaries. However, the latter's leaders were by no means anxious to bring on an Indian war, and would have preferred to see the Watauga settlers move out of danger. Thus the Henry Stuart letter possessed considerable importance for the Wataugans as evidence to back up their claim that it was due to their

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Stuart as opposed to the use of the Indians in indiscriminate border attacks prior to the opening of organized hostilities. She states explicitly that the British Indian agents made no distinction between Loyalist and Patriot in their warning to the Watauga settlers; moreover, she represents Alexander Cameron as exerting his considerable influence with the Cherokees on behalf of peace rather than violence in the first period of the war. Miss Shaw, however, in her study of Britain's Indian policies does not present the matter quite so clearly as a refutation of an erroneous interpretation as does Dr. Hamer, although her discussion is convincingly documented. Helen L. Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, Pa., 1931), 91-96, 102-03, 116.

[26]Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 81.

[27]*Ibid.*, 78.

[28]Ramsey, *Annals*, 150.

[29]Goodpasture, "Moses Fisk's Sketch," *loc. cit.*, 21, 22.

patriot sentiments that the British-inspired attack threatened. Therefore, copies of the document were widely circulated in North Carolina and Virginia in attempts to win sympathy and aid. But the readers of Hamer's work discover that this claim of patriotism on the part of the Wataugans must be evaluated in relation to their earlier reply to the first warning of Henry Stuart, in which they had asserted in somewhat devious language their sincere determination to obey their sovereign, and also in relation to their other messages and pleas with which they sought to win time for preparation against the coming attack.[30]

While Hamer thus vindicates Stuart's early Indian policies, he does take care to add that after 1777, when most of the Indians were calmed, the still hostile faction under Dragging Canoe was able to look for advice and support to Stuart and Cameron, who urged them not to make peace with the Americans; and in 1778, they did make plans for using the Indians in cooperation with regular and Tory forces in South Carolina.[31] But these are somewhat lesser responsibilities than that of instigating a surprise attack upon a frontier at peace.

Carl Driver in his life of John Sevier published in 1932, took cognizance of Professor Hamer's findings and embodied the new view of the British agents' activities.[32] However, Dr. Driver's conclusions, that "Zealous patriots in the Revolutionary cause had used the credulity of the westerners as a means to increase their opposition to the mother country," seems an odd one to draw from the first Hamer article,[33] which he cites, and is at variance with Dr. Hamer's own interpretation in his complete history.

This same year Thomas P. Abernethy published his study of Tennessee.[34] Although he, like Driver, must have had ample opportunity to discover the earlier Hamer articles, and did have them called to his attention while his work was not yet published in its final form,[35] Professor Abernethy was amazingly content to repeat without explanation the older views that the British agents stirred up the Indians against the frontier settlements, loyal or not, and that with the outbreak of war, the Wataugans promptly declared their adherence to the American cause, despite the threats of Cameron and Stuart.[36]

A presentation of the area's history from the Indian's rather than the white's viewpoint, by John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers,* published in 1838, sub-

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[30]Hamer, *Tennessee: A History,* I, 176-79. Many of the documents mentioned were published either partially or in their entirety in the articles in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* or the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications.*

[31]Hamer, *Tennessee: A History,* I, 92.

[32]Carl S. Driver, *John Sevier: Pioneer of the Old Southwest* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 17.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]See note 2.

[35]Personal interview, Dr. S. J. Folmsbee.

[36]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation,* 10.

stantially follows the Hamer version, giving added vividness to the attempts of Henry Stuart to hold off the Indian attack to enable the settlers to seek safety.[37] However, Brown does accept, with a footnote qualification, the authenticity of the second letter of Stuart, but he claims that since it was designed for loyal British subjects, it is not a proof of British plotting, but merely evidence of the British agents' recognition of the situation which existed.[38] He also throws additional light on later British activity of a more hostile sort, largely that of Alexander Cameron, who, with John Stuart's illness and death, by early 1779, came to have more independence of action, and who, as the war progressed, advanced in the good graces of the chieftain Dragging Canoe.[39]

One of the most prolific of modern writers on Tennessee history, Judge Samuel C. Williams, has devoted an entire volume to the history of Revolutionary Tennessee.[40] In his chapter devoted to affairs of 1776, Judge Williams makes a lengthy footnote reference to Professor Hamer's attempt to acquit Stuart of the charge of instigating the Indian rising. His opposition to Hamer's interpretation is based chiefly on the claim that it is "contrary to the firm conviction of the revolutionary leaders of the South at the time." Although he gives no specific citation to prove this contention, he supports it indirectly by quoting a history of the war written by Charles Stedman, a British officer under Clinton, who admitted that "British agents were again employed in engaging the Indians to make a diversion" in the rear of the southern colonies.[41] Williams also argues that the Stuart letters should be read with the consideration in mind that Stuart and Clinton were "solicitous to avoid making a record so as to escape the odium incident to being parties to such an attack by savages,"[42] and asserts that secret messages "such as the one intercepted . . . in the hands of the South Carolina Tory, Moses Kirkland,"[43] show the true attitude. Judge Williams does mention the dissimilarity between the two Henry Stuart letters and Stuart's protests as to the authenticity of the second, but then briskly concludes that "it may well be that . . . Henry Stuart repented of having written the second one and did not disclose it to Superintendent Stuart on his return to Florida."[44]

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[37]John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West, 1838* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), 141-47

[38]*Ibid.*, 141.

[39]*Ibid.*, 191.

[40]Samuel C. Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Nashville, 1944).

[41]*Ibid.*, 25.

[42]*Ibid.*

[43]His reference concerning this is to a rather unreliable *History of the American Revolution* by David Ramsay. *Ibid.*

[44]*Ibid.*, 26-27. He also cites Brown's suggestion in *Old Frontiers* that the second letter may have been meant for the Tories on the Nolichucky but fell into the hands of the Wataugans.

With this concession to the work of Professor Hamer, Williams goes on to take a more or less traditional view, charging Cameron with inspiring Indian discontent with the Watauga settlement,[45] and in a rather more devious way, by choice of quotations and introductory phrases, as well as by omission of any acknowledgement of Cameron and Stuart's attempts to quiet the Indians, aligns himself with those who lay prime responsibility for the rising at their door.[46]

It is interesting to note that with the same length of time to consider Dr. Hamer's findings as Judge Williams had, J. R. Alden, in a special study of the southern colonial frontier focused largely on John Stuart's term of office, felt that Hamer had "thoroughly" disproved the long accepted Patriot charge against Stuart.[47] However, Donald Davidson, the latest writer on the subject consulted in this study, supports, or rather echoes, the Williams view and methods, using slanted introductory phrases and omissions, and occasionally presenting as a statement of fact an idea new and different to the subject, with no indication of its derivation or other justification. The John Stuart statement warning against indiscriminate warfare is quoted, but prefaced by "He added insinuatingly."[48] Apparently oblivious to the contradiction on one page he uses the British supplying of the Cherokees with munitions as support to his statement that with the outbreak of the Revolution British authorities "egged" the warriors on to fight, while on the next page he refers to Henry Stuart's instructions to tell the Indians that their lack of ammunition was due to the "Rebells."[49] This discussion would have been somewhat clarified, though robbed of effectiveness as proof of British wickedness, if the author had pointed out that it was customary for both sides to furnish the Indians with arms and ammunition for hunting. Finally, Davidson's statement that the Cherokee attack, when it was delivered, "was not a characteristic Indian attack . . . . It revealed some conception of maneuver. It could hardly have been a purely spontaneous uprising,"[50] would seem to need some sort of explanation or support for its authoritative tone, as a new thought added to the problem.

After following up one specific instance which shows that inclusion in a history book does not of itself establish a "true fact," it is interesting to view the shades and variations in the general interpretation of the Tennessee Tory presented by the state's historians. A number of complicating factors

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[45] *Ibid.*, 46.

[46] See especially pages 35, 48, 50, 53, 57.

[47] John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1750-1775* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 171.

[48] Donald Davidson, *The Tennessee* (2 vols.), I, *The Old River, From Frontier to* Secession *(The Rivers of America Series*, edited by Harvey Allen and Carl Carmer, New York, 1946), 145.

[49] *Ibid.*, 144-45.

[50] *Ibid.*, 145.

make such an evaluation particularly difficult to do with integrity for this state, for in Tennessee Revolutionary activity was combined with the typical manifestations of the frontier. Among those moving into the Tennessee country in the Revolutionary era were many who could be termed fugitives, including undoubtedly persons whose flight was prompted by fear of retaliation for acts which would be criminal or socially undesirable in any age. But coming at the same time and in the same manner were also those whose conservative or loyalist inclinations caused them to leave the relatively more revolutionary coastal areas for the interior.

This places in the realm of personal judgment the decision as to whether a given author, when speaking of a settlement of horse thieves and Tories from which raids were made on the Patriot settlers, intends to convey the impression that the two terms were synonymous, or merely that the two types of persons happened to enter and inhabit a particular area together, or that certain criminals also professed loyalty to the crown. To be sure, there is a noticeable tendency for later writers like Dr. Hamer to make a more careful distinction in their choice of phrases[51] than do the earlier historians such as Ramsey and Haywood when discussing the Tory character. However, because there were undoubtedly some Tories who did commit the crimes and atrocities which the earlier historians relate with such gusto, one can better look to what they omit, rather than include, to find any change of attitude on the part of historians through the years.

If one were to draw a general picture of Revolutionary warfare in Tennessee from the writings of Fisk, Haywood, Carpenter, Ramsey, Putnam, Draper, and Gilmore, it would be substantially one of sturdy, clear-eyed patriots, immediately roused and conscious of the larger aims for which they strove,[52] opposing bands of "notorious," "wicked and unprincipled,"[53] "crafty, treacherous, embittered, desperate men,"[54] who directed most of their efforts to plundering and devastating the homes of their patriotic countrymen. Not only according to these accounts did Tories raid the homes of those absent fighting the Indians, during the early years of the war, but later, as the British fortunes rose in the South, the bands of loyal militia which joined Ferguson and Tarleton committed on their blood-strewn courses of march "the most shocking barbarities."[55] Moreover, the allegiance of these Tories was prompted at best by timidity, subservience, or ignorance of the true issues, or at worst, by a desire for gain and plunder.[56]

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[51]Hamer, *Tennessee: A History*, I, 91.

[52]Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7th, 1780, and the Events Which Led to it* (New York, 1929 [originally published in 1881]), 242-43; Ramsey, *Annals*, 180.

[53]*Ibid.*, 210.

[54]Putnam, *Middle Tennessee*, 55.

[55]Haywood, *Civil and Political History*, 114.

[56]Draper, *King's Mountain*, 239-40.

Measures taken in retaliation by the Patriots were the actions of law abiding citizens, forced to defend themselves by action which, while vigorous and sanguinary, must be viewed in the light of the desperate conditions it sought to counteract.[57] Lyman C. Draper, it is true, offers a rather half-hearted plea in the Tories' behalf, when he ascribes the "unhappy choice" of allegiance of many to lack of understanding and intimidation.[58] And though he bears down far more heavily on the behavior of the Tory troops, which soon led them to be "as heartily despised by British officers as by their own countrymen, Whigs,"[59] his lengthy account of the fighting at King's Mountain gives some indication of the bitter and quarterless fighting which characterized the activity of both sides.

James Phelan in 1888, continuing in the same vein, offered a more detailed account of measures taken against the Tories by the Whigs, showing that barbarism was not limited by political allegiance. Phelan also looks somewhat askance at Ramsey's view of the informal Patriot tribunals, feeling that a situation where all suspicious persons were arrested, and "the mere fact of arrest was proof of guilt which was all but conclusive,"[60] fell a trifle short of what Ramsey termed the combination of patriotism with justice and humanity in their arbitrary judgments.

Theodore Roosevelt sees the backwoods struggle of the Revolution as a bitter slaking of personal animosities, with lawless elements on both sides although by far the larger number of unadmirable characters were to be found in the Tory ranks.[61] This view carries no weight with Gilmore, who paints all black the Tory character, while he vindicates the Patriot vigilante trials as models of legal procedure.[62] The Turner biography of Sevier presents throughout a similarly one-sided picture, although it is not carried out with the rancor and vigor of Mr. Gilmore.

Once again Miss Constance L. Skinner has stated her views without equivocation, that "There were good honest men among the loyalists, and there were also rough and vicious men out for spoils—which was true as well of the Whigs or Patriots from the same counties."[63] And once again her statement has been supplemented by a more scholarly article, this time by Isaac Harrell who, after analyzing Revolutionary Tennessee, concludes that " 'Tory risings' and 'patriot retaliations', the outstanding feature of the civil war in the State, were often mere pretexts to rob, plunder and destroy."[64] He goes on to assert that neither the British nor American governments regarded those taking part in such risings as Loyalists in the true

[57]Ramsey, *Annals*, 180-81.
[58]Draper, *King's Mountain*, 239.
[59]*Ibid.*, 77.
[60]Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, 52-53.
[61]Roosevelt, *Winning the West*, I, 67-68.
[62]Gilmore, *Rear-guard*, 153.
[63]Skinner, *Pioneers*, 200.
[64]Harrell, "N. C. Loyalists," *loc. cit.*, 579.

sense of the word. The tales of Tory plundering of undefended Patriot homes is balanced somewhat by Harrell's indication of the manner in which a whole frontier community would descend upon the property of a neighbor who had reputedly left for royal service.

The Hamer history strikes a moderate tone here, making brief and fairly emotionless mention of both Tory and Patriot activity. However, the picture of the heroes of King's Mountain plundering the countryside along their march homeward, and the view taken of their treatment of captives from the battle is not one which appears in the earlier chronicles.[65] Abernethy acknowledges in a few lines the local partisan nature of the war in Tennessee, and describes the measures of confiscation of Loyalist property as, while deserving of no great praise, the least action which a revolutionary government could have taken, while it might have done considerably more.[66] Carl Driver, writing on Sevier, ranks Whig and Tory in arms as equal in ferocity of actions. To the Whig motives of patriotism and revenge, Dr. Driver adds another—the desire for possession of the conveniently cleared land plots of the Tories—as inspiring animosities against Loyalist neighbors.[67] Judge Williams has provided a blow by blow account of many of the skirmishes and battles in the area worthy of the older historians; however, missing from his narrations are the vivid pictures of terrible Tories, and while Loyalists appear often, it is only as fighting forces in conjunction with the British.

While sharp contrasts and transitions are less easy to pin down in this instance, there seems to have been a fairly steady, if slow in starting, progress in the direction of presenting a more accurate picture of what the Revolutionary struggle was like in Tennessee. In the process, the activities of the Tory began to appear less villainous as his opponents were deglamorized, but there has still appeared no scholarly work to throw light upon the loyal frontiersman of a higher class than the horse thief and bootyman, to balance the endless eulogies of the sturdy Patriot pioneer.

Gradually the Tennessee Loyalist has emerged somewhat from the abyss of shame and disgrace to which he had been consigned. He has been freed of some of the worst of the charges leveled against him. But while his descendants may no longer have to conceal a Tory as a lasting blight upon the family tree, there is still little in the historical writing dealing with the state to which they could look with pride comparable to that of those whose ancestors are there glorified as heroes in the Revolutionary cause. Although probably as many of those who remained loyal to the King were prompted by their own concepts of right and duty and fought as valiantly for their beliefs as those who turned Patriot, the Tennessee Tory is still paying with his reputation the penalty for being on the losing side.

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[65]Hamer, *Tennessee: A History*, I, 96.
[66]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 37.
[67]Driver, *John Sevier*, 43.

JAMES K. POLK'S POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP

By Charles G. Sellers, Jr.

The third week of September, 1823, found the usually sleepy little town of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, bursting with excitement and activity. The legislature was assembling for its biennial session, and each arriving coach discharged its complement of travel-weary lawmakers. The public square was crowded with elegantly attired lawyers from Nashville and Knoxville, lean farmers from the valleys of East Tennessee, plain-mannered planters from the rich cotton counties in the middle part of the state, and ambitious younger men, mostly lawyers, from all quarters. But it was the newly settled Western District that sent the most picturesque representative, the redoubtable coon catcher and bear killer, Colonel Davy Crockett. Crockett was already making a name for himself as champion of the poor squatters, whose cabins were being pushed ever deeper into the canebrakes by the advancing cotton kingdom, and for some his presence was a disturbing reminder of the political revolution that had swept the state during the last four years.

Out of the economic prostration following the Panic of 1819 had come the first strong challenge since the days of John Sevier to the sway of the old Blount faction, a group of aggressive politicians who thirty years before had laid the foundations of the commonwealth on a vast land speculation and had largely controlled its government ever since. More recently, under the leadership of John Overton, wealthy judge, land speculator, and bank president, they had chartered for themselves highly profitable banks, while electing and twice re-electing Joseph McMinn to the governor's chair and sending John H. Eaton to represent their interests in the Senate of the United States.[1]

In the boom years after the War of 1812, bank speculation had proved as rewarding to the Overton men as land speculation had previously been, and their banknotes had blanketed the state like the autumn leaves. But the panic brought a powerful public reaction, which threatened the political as well as the economic power of the ruling faction. Debt-ridden farmers and mechanics blamed the banks for their distress, at the very time the banks were refusing to pay specie for their notes, pressing their debtors for payment, and declaring handsome dividends for their stockholders. The merchants, who had become increasingly influential during the boom years, were another source of anti-bank sentiment. They had attempted in 1817 to establish a branch of the Bank of the United States at Nashville for the purpose of curbing the speculative activities of the local banks and provid-

[1]The general interpretation of the political background briefly touched upon here is elaborated in Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," which will appear in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

ing a sound commercial credit, but had been defeated by the Overton men. The merchants were now ready to join an attack on the political power of Overton and his associates. There were, besides, disgruntled politicians like Senator John Williams who were only too eager to give leadership to such a movement.

The political possibilities of the situation were first sensed by Felix Grundy, an eminent criminal lawyer and former congressman, who had been active in the national bank movement. Grundy got himself elected to the legislature of 1819 from Nashville and pushed through a measure postponing execution on debts where creditors would not accept banknotes in payment. This, he hoped, would allay the popular discontent without being too displeasing to the powerful speculator-banking group. But neither element was satisfied, and the next year Grundy assumed leadership of the radicals by sponsoring a successful movement for a state-owned bank to make small loans to poor debtors. Almost immediately he thought better of his radicalism and, having seen to it that the new state bank was placed under conservative direction, began trying to reinstate himself in the favor of the Overton faction.

The anti-Overton forces, in the meantime, found a more steadfast leader in William Carroll, a military hero and Nashville merchant, who had been ruined by the panic and the hostility of the banks. Running as an anti-bank candidate in the gubernatorial election of 1821, he trounced Edward Ward, the Overton candidate, soundly, and the legislature at his urging passed a law requiring the banks to resume specie payments by 1824.

The Overton men were far from demoralized, however, and, though they had not dared oppose Governor Carroll for re-election, organized a powerful counterattack for the legislature of 1823. Most important, they built up a strong movement for repeal of the specie resumption act of 1821. In addition, the perennial land question was again up for consideration, with lines drawn between the speculators and the squatters and others traditionally opposed to the Blount-Overton land policy. Moreover, Grundy was now solidly back in the conservative camp and had joined Overton and Eaton in bringing out Andrew Jackson as a candidate for President. It was generally expected that Jackson's great popularity would be brought to bear to defeat Senator Williams, a Carroll supporter and an avowed enemy of Jackson, for re-election at this session.

With a showdown battle impending, the leaders on both sides took great interest in the position of the brisk, genial young man who was embarking on his first elective office as representative from Maury County. James K. Polk was a member of one of the state's most prominent families. His cousin, Colonel William Polk of North Carolina, had been a major participant in the land speculations of the Blount-Overton group, and his father,

Sam Polk, had grown wealthy as manager of Colonel William's holdings in Middle Tennessee and as speculator, army contractor, merchant, and bank director, on his own account. After graduating at the head of his class from the University of North Carolina in 1818, young Polk had studied law with Felix Grundy, and Grundy's influence had obtained for him the clerkship of the state senate, a position he had held from 1819 until he was elected to the lower house in 1823.[2]

The Tennessee legislature was no place for a political neophyte. "*Every thing* here is done by Management," reported one shrewd observer. "Intrigue and bargaining (they call it Log-Rolling here) are at the bottom of every thing."[3] But four years of observation from the speaker's desk in the senate and of riding the circuit with Grundy and the other lawyer-politicians of Middle Tennessee had given Polk a liberal education in practical politics. He was one of the few college men in public life, his campaign for the legislature had established him as an effective vote getter, and he had already impressed the veterans with his shrewdness and capacity for work. Here was a man to watch, and with the lines drawn as closely as they were in 1823, he was surely watched intently by both sides.

It would have been natural for Polk, his background and connections being what they were, to cast his lot with the conservative Overton faction. The whole political history of the state suggested that opposition to these powerful and wealthy men could not long prevail, and a young man of Polk's advantages might expect to advance rapidly to a position of prominence under their sponsorship. But this was not the course he chose. When the house had organized, it was Polk who moved that special committees be appointed to insure adequate consideration of the proposals the Governor had made in his message with respect to education, criminal law reform and a penitentiary, internal improvements, land matters, and banking legislation.[4] Before many days had gone by it was clear that this freshman member was to lead the Governor's supporters in the house in the fight against the banks and for the Carroll reform program.

Since Murfreesborough's handsome courthouse had burned the year before —all Murfreesborough swore the catastrophe was the work of incendiaries from Nashville or Sparta, its rivals for the privilege of playing host to the lawmakers—the legislature was meeting in the Presbyterian church.[5] The

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[2]For Polk's family background and for his early life and education, see Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Colonel Ezekiel Polk: Pioneer and Patriarch," *William and Mary Quarterly* (Williamsburg, Va.), Third series, X (Jan., 1953), 80-98; and Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Jim Polk Goes to Chapel Hill," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), XXIX (April, 1952), 189-203.

[3]Archibald Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, August 1, 1822, William H. Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1914), I, 251.

[4]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, p. 16.

opposing forces were not slow in squaring off against each other. Debate in the house quickly became heated, and the proceedings of the senate, sitting in the gallery, must have been disturbed frequently by the din rising from the "lower chamber" on the main floor.

The bank men led off with a resolution that the specie resumption act of 1821 should be repealed or modified. They argued that the banks were not able to resume without calling in so many of their loans that a host of debtors would be ruined. Polk, Crockett, and the other Carroll supporters attacked the resolution vehemently. Polk reminded the house that a committee had already been appointed, under the chairmanship of his law partner, Aaron V. Brown, to ascertain the condition of the banks, and he thought no action should be taken until they had made their report.[6] When the bank men replied that the agitation against the banks stemmed wholly from the merchants, who, in case of resumption, would immediately send all the specie to their creditors outside the state, Crockett came to the merchants' defense. He denied that they were the only advocates of resumption and said that he "considered the whole Banking system a species of swindling on a large scale." It seemed to him that "in all cases when any difficulty or fuss was created by the Banks, that the farmers suffered most."[7]

Brown's bank committee reported, meanwhile, that the banks were perfectly able to resume. Ignoring this information, the bank men introduced a bill "to amend an act entitled an act to compel the banks to pay specie, and for other purposes," reciting in elaborate legal language the ineffectual remedies already prescribed by the bank charters and the common law for a refusal to pay specie. The newspapers reported that Grundy was "the reputed father of this strange production," and pointed out that for all its "ambiguous manner and studied phraseology," its effect would be to repeal the specie resumption act.[8]

If Grundy had hoped to rush this measure through before its meaning was understood by the farmer legislators, he had underestimated the vigilance of his former protegé. Polk jumped to his feet and declared that he did not even want to let it pass its first reading without debate. Pointing out that the bill, in effect, repealed the resumption law, he moved that it be laid on the table for three days, after which a full discussion might be had. When Grundy protested that bills were usually permitted to pass their first reading without opposition, Polk rejoined that "he was aware that this bill was the favorite child of the gentleman from Davidson [Grundy], that he fostered and nourished it, and hoped ere long to raise it to manhood." But as for

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[6] *Nashville Whig*, July 24, 1822; C. C. Henderson, *The Story of Murfreesboro* (Murfreesboro, 1929), 41.

[7] *Nashville Whig*, September 29, October 13, 1823.

[7] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1823.

[8] *Nashville Gazette*, quoted in Clarksville *Tennessee Watchman*, November 7, 1823.

himself, said Polk, he was against repealing the resumption law, and he wanted to see this measure "arrested at the threshold." A further suspension of specie payments, he thought, would cause an unheard of depreciation in the value of banknotes, the only currency the state had. Thus alerted, the house approved Polk's motion to table.[9]

When Grundy's bill was again taken up three days later, Polk was ready with a substitute, providing that when a bank refused to pay specie on a note, the holder could sue for the value of the note and secure a speedy execution on the property of the bank.[10] After a recess for dinner, Grundy commenced a lengthy speech in support of the original bill. He first painted a dire picture of the poverty and suffering that would be a result of resumption. But his main argument was the one laid down by John Marshall in the Dartmouth College case, that "rights vested in corporations cannot be afterwards affected by legislative authority." The banks, he said, "if they had sense," would refuse to obey the resumption act, and the state would be defeated in the ensuing legal contest. Even if the state had the power, he concluded, it would be bad policy to force resumption, because all the specie would be carried out of the state, and the remaining banknotes would depreciate to nothing.[11]

In reply, Polk cited various acts of the British Parliament as precedents for voiding corporation charters and then went on to argue for the benefits to be expected from resumption. If the resumption act "was such a nullity," he said, "it would do no harm, and therefore it was unnecessary to repeal it." But he did not think it was a nullity, and repeal "would destroy the confidence of the community, and produce a further depreciation, which would be calamitous to the people." He wanted his substitute for Grundy's bill passed so that, if the resumption act did turn out to be a nullity, the people could still secure a speedy execution on their banknotes.[12]

Grundy then resumed the floor for a rebuttal. First of all, he said, though he did not think Tennessee should follow British precedents, he did not believe Parliament had ever taken the actions Polk ascribed to it. As for Polk's substitute proposal, it "had nothing in it." It purported, said Grundy, to give a man speedy recovery on a banknote by waiting for a circuit court, giving ten days notice, and getting a motion, "and this was called a speedy recovery." As for himself, he wanted no such speedy recovery, for the laws already provided that, without waiting for a court, he could apply to a justice of the peace for a judgment for any amount up to one hundred dollars due by note and get it in ten minutes.[13]

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[9] *Nashville Gazette,* quoted in *Knoxville Register,* November 14, 1823.
[10] *Nashville Whig,* November 3, 1823.
[11] *Nashville Gazette,* quoted in *Knoxville Register,* November 14, 1823.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*

By this time it was late, and the house adjourned until the next morning, when Grundy concluded his remarks. After other members spoke on both sides of the question, Polk took the floor again for a long concluding argument lasting far into the evening, when, "on suggestion," he gave way for a motion to adjourn.[14]

The subject was not taken up again for two weeks, and in this interim the bank men raised such a furor over the disastrous consequences of resumption that it became clear some modification would have to be made in the resumption act. Polk, therefore, withdrew his first substitute and proposed another whereby the banks were to resume specie payments gradually over a two-year period. This measure the house accepted. Under it the banks were to pay one fourth in specie on all notes presented after April, 1824; one third after January, 1825; one half after October, 1825; and full papment in gold or silver after July, 1826. Grundy did induce the house to extend the periods for paying the different installments from nine to twelve months, but the senate restored the original nine-month periods, and the house finally agreed to the measure as Polk had presented it. With the Grundy amendment, it had passed the house by a vote of twenty-three to fourteen, with Polk joining Crockett and the other anti-bank stalwarts to vote against his own bill.[15]

Carroll, Polk, and the other champions of immediate resumption were not motivated merely by blind prejudice against the banks, but by what would later be known as the "hard money" philosophy. Governor Carroll had described in his message to the legislature how a depreciated currency injured farmers and mechanics more than anyone else,[16] and he and Polk wanted to restore a stable currency that would be the equivalent of gold and silver. Some Tennesseeans, most notably Andrew Jackson, would have gone further and eliminated all banks, leaving only the precious metals as a circulating medium.[17]

It is not unlikely that even the moderate hard money men were skeptical about the ability of the Tennessee banks to resume and were ready to see them destroyed by forced resumption. Carroll's message, at any rate, had intimated as much.[18] The banks did resume fully when the mandatory date arrived in 1826, but even with two extra years to prepare, they were unable to survive the contraction of that year and within a few month were forced

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[14]*Ibid.*

[15]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 229, 321-22, 330.

[16]*Ibid.*, 12.

[17]Sellers, "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *loc. cit.*

[18]Carroll had proposed that if the banks were unable to resume, they be required to pay specie on each note in the proportion that their specie holdings bore to the total amount of their notes in circulation, and that interest-bearing certificates be given for the balance. A reasonable time should then be allowed them to wind up their business and pay off the certificates. Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 11-12.

to close their doors and wind up their business.[19] Grundy and his banking cohorts of the Overton faction had been able to delay the execution of Carroll's hard money policy, but, thanks largely to Polk, they had been unable to prevent it.

The second major set of issues that faced the legislature of 1823 concerned the disposition of the state's lands. The land question was by this time involved with the question of public education. Governor Carroll advocated using land revenues to support common schools, and Polk's position on these issues again brought him into conflict with the Blount-Overton speculating group and with his own alma mater, the University of North Carolina.

A large part of the land in Tennessee had been granted or was still claimed under the terms of North Carolina's land act of 1783. On this legislation, passed under the aegis of William Blount, had been founded the great speculation in which the Blounts, Polks, and other prominent families had figured and which had determined the state's political alignments ever since. The last group of claims under the act of 1783 had applied to the area west of the Tennessee River, which had been purchased from the Indians and opened to grant and settlement only in 1818-1819. It was this area that the speculators and politicians were still contending over in 1823.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the speculators in 1806 had seen to it that Tennessee agreed to satisfy all claims arising out of North Carolina's 1783 legislation, as well as all bounty grants made by North Carolina to her Revolutionary soldiers. The whole land system had been shot through with fraud and inefficiency, and when many grantees in older parts of Tennessee complained that they could not locate their grants where they were originally intended to lie, the speculator-controlled legislature had obtained the permission of Congress for them to transfer their land rights to the Congressional Reservation. This area which included the newly opened Western District had been closed to further North Carolina claims by the settlement of 1806, and reserved as the exclusive property of the federal government. Things were further complicated when the North Carolina legislature declared that all soldier land rights that had not been claimed were escheated to the state university and the University began presenting these claims to Tennessee for location. The question that faced the Tennessee legislature in 1823 was whether to go on granting Western District and other Congressional Reservation lands to these specious or dubious claimants or whether to reserve the remaining lands for the support of education.[20]

[19]Sellers, "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *loc. cit.*

[20]The fullest study of the Tennessee land question is Albert L. Bramlett, North Carolina's Western Lands (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1928). See also Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 44-65, 115-43, 182-93, and especially 250-61; Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 257-61.

There had been strong opposition to the University warrants in the previous legislature, but Grundy had agreed secretly with the University agents that the lands would be divided between the University, Cumberland College at Nashville (of which Grundy was a trustee), and East Tennessee College, and had then tricked the legislature into referring the claims to a special commission for adjudication, which distributed them according to the prearranged plan.[21]

When the Universtiy trustees presented still more warrants to the 1823 legislature, Polk raised strong objections. He sided with those who held that Tennessee was not obligated to go on indefinitely satisfying North Carolina claims dating from the 1780's. He wanted the Western District lands saved as the foundation for a common school fund. Polk was ably seconded by Davy Crockett, who demanded that the poor "occupants" of the Western District be given first chance at the lands on which they were living. On a close vote Grundy and the University were defeated.[22]

But Polk was not content with merely opposing private appropriation of these lands. The United States held title to all tracts in this part of Tennessee that were not needed to satisfy North Carolina claims. The next step was to ask Congress to cede the remaining lands as an endowment for common schools. On the third day of the session Polk had moved that a joint senate and house committee be appointed to consider making such a request. Polk headed the committee, but appointed with him from the house were the two principal leaders of the speculating and University interests, Grundy and Abram Maury. The other house appointee, William Brady, seems, however, to have sided with Polk, as did Aaron Brown and the other senate member. At any rate, the report was written by Polk and was strictly in accordance with his ideas.[23]

The committee prepared a memorial to Congress declaring that Tennessee was only bound to satisfy North Carolina claims within a reasonable time, and that ample opportunity had been given for the satisfaction of all that were valid. They pointed out that Congress had earlier allocated to the state for schools 640 acres out of every six mile square in the rest of the state, but that North Carolina claims had blanketed this area so completely that only 22,000 acres, instead of the expected 450,000, had been realized. Consequently, it would be but doing justice to cede to the state the vacant lands in the Western District as a basis for a school fund. All the 8,000,000 acres in the District that were of much value, said the committee, had already been appropriated under North Carolina warrants. The remaining lands were

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[21]*Ibid.;* Joseph H. Parks, *Felix Grundy: Champion of Democracy* (University, La., 1940), 159-64.

[22]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 50, 89-90, 275; *Nashville Whig*, September 29, 1823.

[23]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 23, 33.

said to lie in small, detached parcels between grants of more valuable lands, and Congress would itself never be able to realize much on them. But Tennessee, with land offices already established, could dispose of them to the advantage of her people and of her school fund.[24]

When the legislature approved Polk's memorial, the speculators and friends of the University of North Carolina were outraged. The Tennessee Secretary of State, while preparing copies of the memorial for the state's congressmen, sent one to Colonel William Polk, who was an active University trustee. "I do hope," wrote this Tennessee official,

> that you will take such steps as will lead us into a knowledge of our interests—you must bring the question before Congress in such a way as to elicit an expression of their determination, for until we are brought to know the impossibility of laying our hands on the vacant land in the west we will treat your unsatisfied claims with unkindness . . . . I do hope however that if the representation in Congress were made to bring the subject back in its true Colour before us, we would withdraw our unnatural opposition & make terms of Compromise.[25]

Colonel Polk was quick to act on this friendly suggestion. The North Carolina legislature promptly dispatched a memorial to Congress complaining bitterly of Tennessee's recent refusal to provide for the University land warrants, and these objections prevented favorable action on the memorial drafted by the Colonel's Tennessee kinsman.[26]

In the meantime, the controversy had been exacerbated in Tennessee by a court order allowing the University claims that the legislature had rejected. When the legislature was called into special session in 1824, Polk joined with Davy Crockett and five other members of the house in a futile effort to secure an investigation of this "illegal" proceeding.[27] The University at this session presented claims for an additional hundred thousand acres, offering to divide them as before with the Tennessee colleges. "Tennessee," said the University memorial, "has now an opportunity of endowing her Colleges out of the public property of the nation; and will she forego the opportunity?"[28] Grundy was "peculiarly eloquent and impressive" in por-

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[24]The MS. report, in Polk's hand, is in Legislative Reports, Box 129, Tennessee Archives, Nashville. The report is printed in Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 325-29, and reprinted in Robert H. White (ed.), *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*, 2 vols. (Nashville, 1952), II, 55-57.

[25]Daniel Graham to Col. William Polk, December 1, 1823, Polk Family of North Carolina Collection (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

[26]Hoyt (ed.), *Murphey Papers*, II, 323-28. The aim was eventually achieved while Polk was in the White House, in 1846, when Congress ceded to Tennessee to remaining lands in the Congressional Reservation for the support of a college in West Tennessee. 3 *U. S. Statutes at Large*. 729.

[27]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 41, 55; Bramlett, Western Lands, 200.

[28]Hoyt (ed.), *Murphey Papers*, II, 331.

traying "the advantages which the state and people would derive from the promotion of schools, academies, and colleges, and the diffusion of knowledge emanating therefrom," but to no avail. Polk "cautioned the house against the charm of Mr. Grundy's eloquence,"[29] and the Polk forces almost carried a vote to refuse to hear the University agents. The University pleas were rejected summarily, and even when the University supporters offered to devote half the warrants to a fund for Tennessee common schools, the anti-warrant men held their lines intact and voted down the proposal.[30]

Polk, Crockett, and company were not so successful, however, in halting the continued appropriation of Western District lands by Tennesseeans. In the 1823 session they were overcome by such strong majorities as 28 to 12, 26 to 8, and 25 to 11, though they did manage to secure a provision giving occupants first right to purchase the lands they had improved.[31] When the special session convened in 1824, Crockett complained bitterly that speculators had been allowed to locate fraudulent claims in the District and that the occupants had not been given the easy terms they had been promised. "The speculators," he charged, had

> pretended to be great friends to the people in saving their land, had gone up one side of a creek and down another, like a coon, and pretended to grant the poor people great favors in securing the occupant claims—they gave them a credit of a year and promised to take cows, horses &c in payment. But when the year came around, the notes were in the hands of others; the people were sued, cows and horses not being sufficient to pay; the land itself went to pay for securing it.[32]

Crockett and Polk, however, were unable to secure redress, and the house again voted to continue to grant Western District lands, though this time the speculators' majority was reduced to two votes.[33]

Another land problem facing the legislature during Polk's term involved an area at the opposite end of the state. The "Cherokee Reservation" in the southeastern corner of Tennessee, south of the French Broad and east of the Tennessee River, was the only part of the state that had not been subject to disposition under the North Carolina land legislation. Congress had given this land to Tennessee in 1806 to sell as fast as the Indian titles

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[29]*Nashville Whig*, October 11, 1824.

[30]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 42-43, 92-93, 182; Daniel Graham to Archibald D. Murphey, November 1, 1824, Hoyt (ed.), *Murphey Papers*, I, 302-03. The next year, however, the warrants were accepted, with the provision that they be divided, as was done in 1822, with Tennesse colleges. Tennessee *Acts*, 1825, pp. 37-43.

[31]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 50, 57, 90, 148-49, 157; Tennessee *Acts*, 1823, pp. 42-45.

[32]*Nashville Whig*, September 27, 1824.

[33]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 190-91, 199. A law was passed, however, confirming the right of occupants to be paid for their improvements. Tennessee *Acts*, 1824, p. 15.

were extinguished, but had required that no land be sold at less than the federal minimum price, then $2.00 an acre, except that the occupants be allowed pre-emption rights at $1.00 per acre. Two tracts of one hundred thousand acres each were to be set aside in this area for the support of colleges and academies. These two tracts had been located by the legislature in a region largely occupied by squatters who had moved in during the state of Franklin period. Believing that their pioneering service in building up the country entitled them to acquire their holdings for a very nominal price, these squatters had been unwilling to pay the prescribed $1.00 an acre for their lands. The speculator-controlled legislature had frequently indulged them, allowing them to buy their lands on credit and then regularly postponing the collection of the principal and interest when due. In exchange, the representatives from that section had been voting for the legislation the speculators wanted for the disposition of lands in the rest of the state.

When the usual proposal for extending further relief to the settlers south of the French Broad came up in the 1823 legislature, Polk led the opposition, objecting to "any species of relief," except, perhaps, a remission of the interest due. But, as one observer noted, this issue was "a handmaid to the success or defeat of all projects."[34] By this time the supporters of the colleges and accademies had become a sufficiently strong pressure group to induce the legislature to stop indulging the settlers, after granting them one "final" concession. One third of the purchase price was cancelled and the collection of the unpaid interest postponed indefinitely; but the remaining two thirds of the debts, although spread out over a period of seven years, were made subject to foreclosure if any installment should not be paid when due. Polk and eleven other members of the house even voted against this legislation, because of the concessions involved. Polk also opposed unsuccessfully the vesting in the colleges and academies of the receipts from the sales of land in the area "south of the French Broad" outside of the college and academy tracts, preferring that those funds be made available for common schools.[35]

Just before the meeting of the legislature in 1823, Congress had withdrawn the minimum price requirement, giving rise to still another land controversy. It was now possible to revise the sale arrangements for the land in the region called the Hiwassee District recently acquired from the Cherokee Indians lying between the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee rivers. The legislature introduced a graduation system with the price being reduced periodically from $1.50 to 12½c per acre, with squatters being given preference during each period. Polk tried without success to have the top price in the graduation scale fixed at $2.00 instead of $1.50, with a view to having more money available for the support of common schools.

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[34]Clarksville *Tennessee Watchman*, November 7, 1823.
[35]Tennessee *Acts*, 1823, pp. 33-39; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 188-89.

Between the Cherokee and the Congressional reservations practically all of the desirable land had long since been taken up by North Carolina claimants. The remaining "waste land" could not be sold by the state because of the federal minimum price restriction. But with the removal of that restriction in 1823, it could at last be sold for whatever it would bring. Polk, and in this case he was joined by Grundy, regarded these lands as valuable public property and wanted to use them too for schools. He insisted that they should be sold for cash at the highest possible price, at least 25c an acre. But the squatters and other prospective buyers were too strong. The legislature finally settled on a price of 12½c an acre and included a preemption system that gave first choice to occupants of the lands; but the money received was placed irrevocably in a common school fund.[36]

On the land question, as on banking, Polk had stood out against the selfish plans of the state's most influential men. Although he had not gained a complete victory, the strong fight of the anti-speculating forces at the special session had insured an early end to private appropriation of the remaining Western District lands. In addition, the important point had been suggested that a substantial part of the proceeds of these lands must go for educational purposes. But title to this potential school endowment was still held by Congress. The battle for schools for the people would be transferred to the national legislature, where it would again be led by James K. Polk. Meanwhile, he had been instrumental in checking legislative indulgence of the settlers on the college and academy lands and in initiating a common school fund from the proceeds from the sale of waste lands outside of the Congressional reserve.

Carroll's program, however, was more than a negative attack on the privileges of the past; the Governor called for a whole series of reforms reflecting the democratic stirrings of the period. He wanted a common school system, an extensive network of internal improvements by the state, reform of the penal laws, establishment of a penitentiary and an insane asylum, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and a revision of the state constitution.

Though Polk led the Carroll forces in the house, he was not a slavish follower of the Governor or anybody else. Always careful of the taxpayers' money, he fought the penitentiary bill at every stage.[37] On internal improvements his record was more mixed. He voted with Crockett against a bill for improving navigation of rivers in the Western District, possibly because it had been amended to permit prisoners to be hired out for labor on public improvements.[38] But his strongest opposition was directed against a measure

[36] *Ibid.*, 32, 38-39, 43, 45, 136-37, 141, 191-92, 202, 204, 277-78, 282-83, 292, 295; Tennessee *Acts*, 1823, pp. 25-31, 58-66. J. C. Mitchell had proposed the graduation scheme for the Hiwassee district in 1819, but it had then failed to pass, possibly due to the fact that it would have violated the federal law.

[37] Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 16, 49, 94.

[38] *Ibid.*, 308, 319-20.

affecting his own constituents, a proposal to charter a company to build and operate a toll road from Nashville to his home town, Columbia. He objected primarily because Nashville would get most of the benefits of the road, but he also thought the state should not force his constituents to pay tolls to a private corporation.

In the course of his remarks on the turnpike bill, Polk referred rather ambiguously to the general policy of internal improvements by state and federal governments. Noting that the constitutionality of federal improvements had long been questioned, he asserted that the matter had been settled conclusively by the recent passage by Congress of the General Survey Bill. The survey of a national road from New Orleans to Washington authorized by this measure had aroused great excitement in Tennessee. Polk referred to the project and was on the committee appointed a few weeks later to petition Congress to build such a road by way of Tennessee. It would seem that hostility at home to the Nashville toll road had turned him against private turnpike companies, while enthusiasm for the proposed national road was leading him into a cautious approval of federal projects. Here again, as on almost every issue, Polk and Grundy crossed swords as leaders of the opposing sides.[39]

On still another question the young lawmaker seems to have been guided by the demands of political expediency. The legislature had battled for some years over the quorum court system, a sensible scheme to improve the county courts by designating a small number of justices as a permanent panel to try cases, rather than having all the justices present sit in judgment. The Maury squires seem to have been up in arms over the proposal, and a former Maury representative who supported it had lost his seat to a strong critic of this constructive reform. Polk read the handwriting on the wall and voted uniformly against allowing his or any other county to adopt the quorum court system.[40]

Despite these vacillations, Polk's record leaves no doubt that he was in line with the democratic tendencies represented by Governor Carroll. He showed this indirectly when Crockett introduced a resolution proposing that the legislature grant no divorces at that session. Polk made a long speech in opposition to the current practice of granting divorces only by special act of the legislature. He endorsed Crockett's suggestion that the public prosecutors be directed to handle divorce cases for indigent persons, though he thought they had better be compensated by the state for taking care of this business if justice were to be obtained.[41]

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[39]*Ibid.*, 1824, pp. 158, 171; *Nashville Whig*, September 27, 1824; Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville, 1939), 52-53.

[40]*Nashville Gazette*, November 13, 1819; *Nashville Whig*, September 29, 1823; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 225-26; ibid., 1824, p. 133.

[41]*Ibid.*, 1823, pp. 29, 38; *Nashville Whig*, September 22, 1823.

This concern for the poorer members of society is even more evident in Polk's views on taxation. The state derived its revenue largely from levies on land and polls. When the perennial tax reduction bill was introduced in the 1823 legislature, Polk supported a reduction on white polls but argued against reducing the land tax. The poll tax, he said, was too high in proportion to the land tax. Much of the state's area was owned by out-of-state speculators, who withheld it from sale and rented it to the poor, who were unable to buy land. "We ought," Polk declared,

> to do everything in our power to produce as nearly as practicable an equal distribution of lands, to induce foreigners to sell out their lands, so that they might be settled by independent free-holders, who would feel an interest in the soil, and become endeared to the government.[42]

A more serious inequity in the tax system, the requirement that all land be taxed at the same rate per acre, regardless of value, was imbedded in the state constitution. This, together with the undemocratic structure of local government, was the cause of the powerful movement for a constitutional convention in the 1820's. A convention could be called only by a two-thirds vote of the legislature followed by a favorable referendum, and this complicated procedure frustrated repeated attempts by the reform party. In 1823 the convention resolution got a thirty-three to twenty-five majority, but this was six votes short of the necessary two thirds. Polk, of course, was for the convention, and he took such a prominent part in the fight that he was designated to introduce the convention resolution at the special session the next year. This time the reformers rounded up thirty-six votes, to twenty-four opposed, still four short.[43] Not until 1833-1834 would Tennesseeans be able to clear the hurdles set up by their constitution and remodel their government along more democratic lines.

Only one other major question came before the legislature during Polk's term, but his decision on it had a profound bearing on his future political career. Andrew Jackson's candidacy for President was a problem of peculiar difficulty for Governor Carroll's able young lieutenant. Jackson was on intimate terms with Colonel William Polk, he was well acquainted with James's father, and he had known James himself since his boyhood.[44] It would have been natural for the young legislator to go along with the Jackson movement, just as it would have been natural for him to have

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[42]*Ibid.*, November 24, 1823.

[43]*Ibid.*, May 1, 1819; Nashville *Clarion, & Tennessee State Gazette*, June 8, 1819; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 115-16; Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1824, Appendix, i-iv.

[44]Andrew Jackson to ?, July 12, 1844, in *Vindication of the Revolutionary Character of Services of the Late Col. Ezekiel Polk, of Mecklenburg, N. C.* (Nashville [1844]), 16.

sided with Grundy, the speculators, the banks, and the University of North Carolina. But he had refused to follow the path of least resistance on legislative questions, aligning himself instead with men who were cool to Jackson. Governor Carroll was a supporter of Henry Clay, while Senator John Williams and most of the other leading opponents of the Overton faction were backing William H. Crawford.[45]

The Jackson boom, on the other hand, was being promoted by John Overton, Felix Grundy, and Senator Eaton, men whose measures Polk had been fighting in the legislature. Many Tennesseeans were convinced that the Overton faction was merely trying to use the General's irresistible popularity to defeat Senator Williams for re-election, and ultimately to re-establish their dominant position in state politics. No one had been bold enough to oppose Jackson himself when his nomination for President was proposed to the legislature of 1822; the real test did not come until the senatorial election in the legislature of 1823.

Polk had ample warning that the Jackson issue would be brought to bear on the senatorial election, for many contests for the legislature and for Congress had already been made to turn on it. In his own district Andrew Erwin, one of the leaders of the anti-Overton coalition, had been defeated for Congress because he was opposed to Jackson.[46] When the legislature met, Polk had made his choice. In the preliminary maneuvering over when the senatorial election should take place, he voted with the Jackson men.[47]

Jackson's supporters were trying desperately to stave off the election to give them time to decide which of two candidates to back against Williams and to try to unite all their strength on that man. One of the candidates, Pleasant M. Miller, an old and bitter enemy of Williams, had been one of the earliest and most active proponents of Jackson's nomination, pretty clearly with a view to getting himself sent to the Senate as a Jackson man. The other, John Rhea, was a veteran congressman long identified with the Overton group. Miller had many personal enemies, and it soon became evident that he could not command enough support to defeat Williams. The Jackson men then procured an endorsement of Rhea by the General himself, but even this left them three votes short of a majority. By this time their only hope for success was to bring Jackson to Murfreesborough to exert pressure on wavering members under promise to vote for Williams. But the General would not come.

Finally, in desperation, Jackson's friends, with considerable trepidation and without his knowledge, put the General's name before the legislature as

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[45]The interpretation of Tennessee presidential politics followed here is developed more fully in Sellers, "Politics and Banking in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *loc. cit.*

[46]James Campbell to David Campbell, September 15, 1823, David Campbell Papers (Duke University Library).

[47]*Nashville Whig*, September 22, 1823; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, p. 20.

Williams' competitor. When the messenger bearing this news reached the Hermitage, Jackson mounted up and left posthaste for Murfreesborough, arriving there in the middle of the night preceding the election. Even with Jackson as the candidate and with Jackson present, Williams was defeated by a vote of only thirty-five to twenty-five. Polk voted for the General, but Crockett and the bulk of the Carroll party stood by Williams.[48]

Polk's support of Jackson may have been decisive. The General's friends had been none too sure that even he could defeat Williams, and had he failed to do so, his presidential prospects would have probably been destroyed. Under these circumstances the support of so influential a leader of the Carroll forces as Polk was important indeed.

In Polk's whole course in the legislature, there is something a little strange. Why did he turn his back on his family, his old preceptor and benefactor Grundy, and his alma mater to side with Carroll and the democratic reform party? And then why did he diverge from Carroll on the presidential question and ally himself with the men he had been fighting on almost every other matter before the legislature? The only answer that seems to fit all the facts of the case is that Polk was a doctrinaire champion of political democracy and Jeffersonian principles. His entire public career shows the same dogged adherence to what he believed right that characterized such other products of the southern backcountry as Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and Woodrow Wilson. Polk's ideology was virtually complete when he came to the legislature. He may be criticized for the narrowness and inflexibility with which he stuck to it throughout his life, but he cannot fairly be accused of the kind of expedient politics practiced by men like Grundy.

Polk was, to be sure, a practical politician, as the quorum court question and his long tenure in public office indicate. But on major issues he almost never deviated from the position he assumed early in life. It must be added, however, that he had probably absorbed some of Grundy's keen sensitivity to major trends in public sentiment and that this tended to push him in a democratic direction during the years from 1819 to 1823, when his views were assuming their final form.

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[48]This account is drawn mainly from the following sources: [William B. Lewis] to Gov. Lewis Cass, n. d. (Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.); William Brady and Thomas Williamson to Andrew Jackson, September 20, 1823, Andrew Jackson Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Andrew Jackson to [William Brady and Thomas Williamson], September 27, 1823, draft, *ibid.*; Andrew Jackson to [John H. Eaton], October 4, 1823, draft, *ibid.*, Second Series; Thomas H. Williams to John Overton, September 20, 1823, John Overton Papers, Claybrooke Collection (Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville); Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, October 5, 1823, John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1926-1935), III, 210-11; William Carroll to Henry Clay, October 1, 1823, Henry Clay Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Tennessee *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 76-77.

There is still an apparent difficulty in explaining Polk's support of the Overton-initiated Jackson movement on these grounds. It must be remembered, however, that Jackson's own well-known opinions were closer to Carroll's than to those of the Overton group.[49] Moreover, Jackson's position in the 1824 presidential contest as the western, anti-caucus, popular-hero candidate tended to make him the focal point of the democratic movement as it began to manifest itself in national politics. Both of these things made it easy for Polk to back Jackson, regardless of the local circumstances that had led to his candidacy. Polk's decision was a fortunate one, for it opened the way for him to play an important role in the Jacksonian movement nationally. His decision was also a fortunate one for Jackson. Not only did it help save the General's candidacy in the decisive senatorial election of 1823, but later, when Jackson was being deserted by his early backers of the Overton persuasion, it gave him a faithful and effective champion in Tennessee.

Polk's transition from state to national politics was not long taking place. He had come far in his single term in the legislature and, at twenty-eight, was widely regarded as "one of the first young men in the state."[50] Even during his first session there had been talk of running him for Congress, and when the special session of 1824 assembled, his hat was in the ring.[51]

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[49]Sellers, "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *loc. cit.*

[50]Jessie C. Connors, "The Years Are Kind," *Nashville Tennesseean Magazine*, July 10, 1949, p. 8.

[51]Edmund Dillahunty to Robert L. Caruthers, September 29, 1823, Robert L. Caruthers Collection (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina); *Nashville Whig*, August 23, 1824.

CAVE JOHNSON AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1844

By C. L. Grant

One of the most effective strategems employed by the Whig party in the presidential campaign of 1844 was an attempt to portray the Democratic candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee, as an unknown, a "political accident." Until recently, Polk's status among the successful presidential aspirants has conformed closely to this erroneous impression created by his political opponents over a century ago. To many Americans the question propounded by the supporters of Henry Clay in 1844, "Who is James K. Polk?", remains unanswered. Relegated to comparative obscurity with the man for whom they campaigned vigorously for many years, were those men who were responsible for Polk's success. Among this group none was more important nor has remained more obscure than Cave Johnson of Tennessee.[1]

Throughout his long congressional career, Johnson was devoted to the political advancement of Polk, his most intimate friend. He conducted an endless correspondence in his behalf and informed Polk of all political intrigue and gossip from wherever he chanced to be. Whether at Polk's suggestion or not, Johnson was his faithful campaign manager, always to be relied upon to do his utmost to enhance the possibility of success for his friend. Although few expressions of personal friendship passed between the men, Polk's debt of gratitude to Johnson was great as he acknowledged on occasion. An appointment to Polk's cabinet was Johnson's reward for fifteen years of effort in behalf of his fellow Tennessean.

Johnson became interested in Polk's political advancement as early as 1834 when the latter was an unsuccessful candidate for the speakership of the House of Representatives. During the contest to select a successor to Andrew Stevenson of Virginia, Polk and John Bell of Tennessee were the outstanding candidates, although both were considered supporters of President Andrew Jackson. Bell was elected with votes from those members opposed to the administration and broke thereafter with the Jacksonian party.

No Democrat was more staunch in his support of Polk during this contest nor more bitter over the outcome than Cave Johnson, then in his third term in the lower house.[2] Until Polk defeated Bell for the chair two years later, Johnson labored valiantly to advance his friend's aspirations. He professed, moreover, his willingness to retire from politics if such a course would help

[1]Cave Johnson (1793-1866) served seven terms (1829-1837, 1839-1845) in the House of Representatives from Clarksville, Tennessee. From 1845 to 1849 he was postmaster general in the cabinet of President James K. Polk and was president of the Bank of Tennessee from 1854 to 1859.

[2]Johnson's account is the most widely accepted version of the Bell-Polk speakership contest of 1834. It is contained in Johnson to Polk, September 12, 1834, James K. Polk Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

the party in its efforts to replace Bell with Polk.[3] Johnson's position as a leading Polk supporter was amply illustrated when the candidate considered it necessary to deny that Johnson was his "mouthpiece."[4]

Polk's success against Bell in 1836, his re-election two years later, and his subsequent election as governor of Tennessee in 1839 instilled among his followers a desire for his further advancement. Inasmuch as Martin Van Buren's renomination for the presidency in 1840 was considered a certainty, Tennesseans believed that Polk should seek the vice-presidential nomination. It was well known throughout the state prior to the gubernatorial election, in fact, that Polk would not be unwilling to become the running mate of the President.[5]

With the advent of the election year, Cave Johnson enthusiastically supported the movement for higher office for Polk. On the first day of 1840 he reported from Washington to the Governor that his prospects for the nomination appeared favorable if the Democrats decided to hold a nominating convention.[6] In February, however, he joined the other Tennessee Democratic congressmen in a pessimistic letter to Polk. They stated that a convention would be held and that, in their opinion, no vice-presidential nomination could be made due to the two-thirds rule which would undoubtedly govern the nomination once again. The congressmen doubted the wisdom of presenting Polk's name to the convention, therefore, for an unfavorable vote might end his prospects even though no nomination were made and the people were left free to vote for whomever they chose.[7]

Despite the pessimistic tone of this letter, Johnson privately continued to believe that Polk's chances were favorable, especially if no nomination were made at Baltimore. Commenting on the various candidates for the vice-presidency, Johnson informed Polk that "if you all run *I shall look upon your election as certain.*"[8] The final decision was out of their hands, however, for "the Northern Democrats will decide it in convention not upon merits or qualifications or even their own wishes but as [a] matter of policy." In that case, Cave Johnson believed, Richard M. Johnson, the incumbent, might be chosen, if a nomination were made, in order to counteract the influence in the Northwest of the probable Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison of Ohio.[9]

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[3]Johnson to Polk, August 16, 1835, *ibid.*

[4]Polk to Johnson, March 31, 1835, St. George L. Sioussat (ed.), "Letters of James K. Polk to Cave Johnson, 1833-1848," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), I (1915), 209-56. Hereafter cited as "Polk-Johnson Letters."

[5]Powell Moore, "James K. Polk: Politician," *The Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., . . . Lexington, Ky.), XVII (1951), 503.

[6]Johnson to Polk, January 1, 1840, Polk Papers.

[7]Felix Grundy, Abraham McClellan, Harvey M. Watterson, Hopkins L. Turney, Cave Johnson, and Aaron V. Brown to Polk, February 3, 1840, *ibid.*

[8]Johnson to Polk, February 24, 1840, *ibid.*

[9]Johnson to Polk, February 27, 1840, *ibid.*

Johnson suspected, furthermore, that Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, Postmaster General Amos Kendall, and the Washington *Globe* were opposed to Polk's candidacy. "I cannot see the causes," he confessed, "that should engender such opposition unless it is jealousy which I thought I had taken proper precaution to remove."[10] In view of such reports from Johnson, Polk replied that he would leave his fate in the hands of his friends.[11]

In spite of the efforts by Johnson and Polk's other advocates, the Governor's vice-presidential hopes were not realized. The convention voted to make no vice-presidential nomination and Polk withdrew his name from contention on July 4.[12] Due to Van Buren's defeat at the polls later in the year, the outcome was undoubtedly fortunate for the future career of the Tennessean.

Despite his defeat in 1840, Van Buren remained the logical Democratic choice for 1844. As a man from the Southwest was necessary to balance the ticket, Polk's prospects gradually improved with each passing year. Throughout the years of the Harrison-Tyler administration, Johnson remained the firm champion of Van Buren and Polk. He employed his seat in the House of Representatives as a listening post for presidential politics and, despite his habitual pessimism, was generally optimistic in regard to the Democratic prospects.

By 1842 Johnson's position as a supporter of ex-President Van Buren and Polk had become a detriment to his attempts at aiding the candidates. He was no longer in the confidence of many of the legislators, Johnson informed Polk, for he was considered "the setled [*sic*] & immovable friend of Van Buren and not a proper person to be trusted with the interests of others supposed to be adverse to that." He was aware that, as a result, he was kept in ignorance of many secret movements taking place in behalf of the other presidential hopefuls. He was certain, nevertheless, that a majority of the party continued to favor Van Buren and Polk for the nominations.[13]

Despite the intrigues of other groups, Johnson considered it inadvisable for the Van Buren-Polk supporters to begin active campaigning in 1842. He believed that much more could be accomplished by waiting until the following year; yet he confessed, "I am often censured for speaking freely upon the subject among our friends."[14] Richard M. Johnson remained Polk's most formidable rival, he reported, although most of the party leaders appeared to prefer Polk.

Ex-President Van Buren visited Tennessee in May, 1842, and conferred with both Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage and with Polk, in retirement

[10]Johnson to Polk, March 12, 1840, *ibid.*
[11]Polk to Johnson, March 30, 1840 (copy), *ibid.*
[12]*Niles' National Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), LVIII (1840), 346.
[13]Johnson to Polk, March 20, 1842, Polk Papers.
[14]Johnson to Polk, April 29, 1842, *ibid.*

after his defeat for re-election in 1841. Although the New Yorker's tour of the Southwest was considered a success, Johnson was dissatisfied with the outcome. He believed that Van Buren and Polk should have discussed their prospects candidly and should have openly announced their support of each other for the 1844 nominations. Such a course would have enhanced Polk's possibilities for the vice-presidential nomination. At the Capital, Johnson understood that an attempt would be made by the southern Democrats to set aside the ex-President on the pretext that, having been defeated once, he was no longer a safe candidate. In the event that occurred, the New Yorker's friends were prepared to substitute Silas Wright of New York. Although this would not greatly affect Polk's position, Johnson was convinced that the entire matter should be settled before Congress convened in December, 1843.[15]

During the summer of 1842, Polk visited Washington on a journey through the East. After his departure, Johnson discovered that his own position was more isolated than formerly. He was rarely approached on the subject of candidates and was compelled to be very cautious in everything that he said, for his remarks were usually attributed to Polk. Several southern members of Congress had discussed the situation with him, he reported, and had expressed their opinions on the next presidential contest. In substance, they preferred to substitute John C. Calhoun for Van Buren with Wright as his running mate. After Calhoun had served one term, Polk would be the right age for the succession. "I do not like such movements," Johnson averred, "& think but little will be gained by the movers—My dislike is so great that I avoid rather than seek to know any thing about them."[16]

This and similar schemes evidently never progressed further than speculation because Johnson was again certain in the fall that Van Buren would be nominated. The name of William R. King of Alabama had been added to the vice-presidential aspirants with the conservative element favoring either him or R. M. Johnson over Polk. The latter's prospects continued favorable, however, despite the appearance of the new candidate. Although there was a possibility that they might have to "buy off" R. M. Johnson in order to dispose of his pretensions,[17] the only real threat to Van Buren and Polk was the Calhoun movement. Johnson was convinced that those supporting the South Carolinian planned to use the tariff and abolition questions as an excuse for abandoning the ex-President.

When Congress convened in December, 1842, Johnson reported that Van Buren was stronger among the members than he had been during the

[15]Johnson to Polk, May 20, 1842, *ibid.*
[16]Johnson to Polk, July 20, 1842, *ibid.*
[17]Johnson to Polk, October 21, December 18, 1842, *ibid.*

previous session. The Calhoun men were "acting badly," however, and he feared that they might take a course which could lead only to Democratic disunity. He warned Polk that "if they [the Calhoun supporters] desert us, & I think they will; they will go off *upon some great principle* & make a *terrible noise* & we shall have but little time for a proper exposure." They maintained, according to Johnson, that Van Buren was not to be trusted and "*every step they* take increases the suspicion that we are to be deserted, if they have enough for the balance of power."[18] Johnson's suspicion was well founded for, with his eye on the nomination in 1844, Calhoun resigned from the Senate effective in March, 1843. The time had come, in the opinion of the South Carolinian, for the people to rally to his support.[19]

In addition to his concern over the selection of candidates, Johnson was not optimistic in regard to financial resources for the approaching campaign. He had contacted several men in New York in an attempt to raise funds but his letters had met with no response. Plenty of money was available, he reported to Polk, but, as there was no confidence in any man from the West, there was little chance of obtaining pledges.[20] Recalling the type of campaign waged by the victorious Whigs in 1840, Democratic success might depend upon the amount of financial support that the party could uncover.

Another problem which worried Johnson was the difference of opinion among the Democrats over the proper time to hold the nominating convention. He believed that the chances for a nomination of Van Buren and Polk would be most propitious if the convention were held in the fall of 1843. The Calhoun movement was gaining strength and, if the convention did not take place until 1844, it might be strong enough to hold the balance of power.[21] Despite this threat, the Democrats did not seem inclined to take any action until election year. Johnson could not comprehend this attitude and warned the party leaders, to no avail, that the cause might be lost if they delayed.[22] Johnson proved to be an excellent prophet but for very different reasons than he considered at that time.

The beginning of Congress in 1843 found Johnson watching the activities of the various presidential candidates closely. He had written to Van Buren urging him to support Polk for the vice-presidential nomination, and the Tennessee Democratic press had announced that the ex-President would be unable to carry the state without the aid of Polk's name.[23] Soon after the opening of the session, however, Johnson was confronted with a new threat.

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[18]Johnson to Polk, January 22, 1843, *ibid.*

[19]John C. Calhoun to James H. Hammond, November 27, 1842, J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, 2 vols. (Washington, 1900), II, 519-22.

[20]Johnson to Polk, January 22, 1843, Polk Papers.

[21]Johnson to Polk, January 29, 1843, *ibid.*

[22]Johnson to Polk, February 28, 1843, *ibid.*

[23]Johnson to Martin Van Buren, October 9, 1843, Martin Van Buren Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

In his opinion, both James Buchanan and Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, possible presidential candidates themselves, feared a nomination for Polk as a threat to their own ambitions in 1848. Buchanan and Benton, therefore, seemed inclined to support King. Johnson thought that he had satisfied Benton but to be certain he spoke "strongly on that subject . . . in a quarter from which he will hear it."[24] As one of Polk's recognized spokesmen in Congress, Johnson hoped that this assurance would satisfy all persons.

Johnson's course was encouraged at this time by a letter from the venerable "Old Hickory" who was keenly watching the presidential scene from the Hermitage. Jackson assured him that the "great body of the people" were in favor of Van Buren and, with Polk as a running mate, he would be able to carry Tennessee. Johnson should continue his efforts in behalf of the party, Jackson stated, for

> The people only want light, they are virtuous [,] pursue principal and are guided by truth, being the soverign power, and our Government constituted for their happiness and prosperity, give them light and they will always pursue a course to perpetuate their own happiness and by perpetuating our glorious republican Government untramelled by corrupt monied monopolies and uncowed by attachment to individuals—do your duty and your constituents will do theirs.[25]

The Old General's faith in the wisdom of the people remained unshaken and, if Johnson and the other party leaders did their parts, a Democratic victory was certain.

During the first two months of the election year Van Buren continued to be the leading presidential candidate among the Democrats. The vice-presidential race remained confusing, however, and Johnson reported that there was some sentiment in Congress for settling the controversy between Polk and King by giving the nomination to R. M. Johnson once again. The Kentuckian had withdrawn his name from the presidential contest and had thrown his support to Van Buren, undoubtedly with his eye on the second office. Cave Johnson warned Polk that it would take the combined strength of both the Polk and King factions to defeat the former Vice-President.[26]

The ex-Governor replied with instructions for counteracting the efforts of his rivals. He was satisfied, Polk stated, that "the popular voice of the party" was in favor of his nomination but believed that the party leaders

[24]Johnson to Polk, December 15, 1843, Polk Papers. Since this article was written, this letter and some of the others from Johnson to Polk hereafter cited, plus a few additional ones, have been published in C. L. Grant (ed.), "The Politics Behind a Presidential Nomination as shown in Letters from Cave Johnson to James K. Polk," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), XII (1953), 152-81.

[25]Jackson to Johnson, December 11, 1843, Andrew Jackson Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

[26]Johnson to Polk, January 13, 1844, Polk Papers.

in Washington had not done him justice. "These leading men at Washington constitute but a small portion of the party," he pointed out, "and unless my friends at Washington become desponding of success and yield, they cannot carry out their designs."[27] He was re-assured by Johnson that he would be defended at the Capital regardless of the actions of the other candidates. Johnson remained convinced that the northern Democrats would prefer Polk "if left free to act from other than political considerations." He added that he was thoroughly identified with the northern wing of the party and hoped to be able to use his influence among the northerners in behalf of Polk.[28]

Along with the absorbing question of presidential candidates, the problem of the proper course for the United States to follow in regard to the Republic of Texas was becoming increasingly important during the early months of 1844. This was not a new problem, but for the first time it was to become important enough to influence presidential politics. Throughout these months of pre-convention activity, a treaty calling for the annexation of Texas and sponsored by Secretary of State Calhoun was before the Senate.[29] Despite an increasing public sentiment in favor of annexation, the treaty was finally defeated in June.

As a presidential possibility, therefore, Calhoun was on record as favoring the annexation of the infant republic whereas the attitude of the other candidates in both parties was in doubt. As early as the previous December, Johnson had predicted that the annexation issue would be used against Van Buren if possible.[30] As Van Buren's opinion on the matter was unknown, Johnson believed that he recognized a secret movement in March, 1844, designed to bring the question into the open before the convention met. Those sponsoring the movement believed, of course, that the New Yorker would oppose the issue in common with the majority of the North. The South and West might thereby unite in favor of both Texas and Oregon and nominate their own candidate.[31] Johnson suspected that Calhoun's appointment to the State Department in reality had been solely for that purpose.[32] By the end of

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[27]Polk to Johnson, January 21, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 234.

[28]Johnson to Polk, January 21, February 6, 25, 1844, Polk Papers. Johnson believed that Polk could be certain of a position in the cabinet of Van Buren in the event that he did not receive the vice-presidential nomination. Adam Huntsman to Polk, March 1, 1844, *ibid.*

[29]Calhoun became secretary of state on April 1, following the death of Abel P. Upshur on February 28, 1844, when a cannon on the American warship, the *Princeton*, exploded. Polk had been tentatively offered the post of secretary of navy, left vacant by the death of Thomas W. Gilmer in the same accident. He finally declined the offer, which was later withdrawn, not desiring to become identified with the discredited Tyler administration. Johnson expressed entire agreement with Polk's decision. Johnson to Polk, March 28, 1844, *ibid.*

[30]Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1911), 253.

[31]Johnson to Polk, March 10, 1844, Polk Papers.

[32]Johnson to Jackson, March 15, 1844, Jackson Papers.

March Johnson reported that annexation was being used against both Van Buren and Clay, the probable Whig candidate, even though neither had announced his position on the subject. Because of this important development, the question of the vice-presidential candidate had been forced into the background.[33]

Johnson was concerned, meanwhile, with a movement in Washington to supplant Van Buren with General Lewis Cass of Michigan. He strongly advised Polk to avoid having his name connected with any Cass movement in Tennessee. He felt that there were several men better qualified than Cass for the position. More important, however, Johnson believed that "our unity—our safety depend upon Van and in my judgment *your only chance* for the position we wish, arises from the continuance of Van." As the Democrats in Congress had formed an Executive Committee of which he was chairman, Johnson felt that he was in a position to aid in keeping the Van Buren movement alive.[34]

During March and April, while the Texas annexation treaty was before the Senate, sentiment in the South and West in favor of annexation continued to grow. It was apparent, furthermore, that all candidates would be compelled to announce their views on the subject. Johnson, ever mindful of the effect that Van Buren's course would have on the fortunes of Polk, attempted to warn the ex-President of the danger of silence on the issue. To a friend of the New Yorker he expressed the hope that Van Buren would publicly favor annexation "if the treaty is founded on proper principles." As far as he could ascertain, Johnson stated, no man who opposed the admission of Texas could expect votes in the South. He did not believe that Clay could carry his home state unless he endorsed annexation.[35]

Southern and western sentiment notwithstanding, Van Buren made his decision, probably before he learned of Johnson's views. In his famous "Hammet" letter, published in Washington on April 28, he took his stand against immediate annexation on the ground that it might provoke war with Mexico. Henry Clay, the outstanding Whig candidate, also publicly declared his opposition to annexation on the same day.[36] On the day that Van Buren wrote to Hammet, Johnson addressed a futile letter directly to Van Buren

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[33]Johnson to Polk, March 29, 1844, Polk Papers. King was eliminated as a vice-presidential candidate when he was appointed minister to England by President Tyler. Johnson had been approached concerning an offer of the post to Polk. Although he thought that an appointment would benefit Polk financially, he had replied that he doubted if Polk would want to absent himself due to his deep interest in the Tennessee elections. Johnson to Polk, April 15, 1844, *ibid.*

[34]Johnson to Polk, March 6, 1844, *ibid.*

[35]Johnson to ? , April 13, 1844, Van Buren Papers.

[36]Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 224-26. These letters were published in the Nashville *Union*, May 7, 1844. The editor of the *Union* attempted to minimize the effect of Van Buren's stand by assuring his readers that the ex-President's objections to annexation were merely temporary. Nashville *Union*, May 9, 1844.

cautioning him against such a course. He warned the ex-President that his prospects for the presidential nomination would be slim unless he announced his support of annexation at "the earliest opportunity." The Texan question would be the controlling factor in the ensuing election, Johnson predicted, and Van Buren's advocacy of annexation would "overwhelm Mr. Clay in the South if he hesitates or equivocates."[37]

The publication of Van Buren's letter, apparently a complete surprise to Johnson, left him very depressed for it appeared to be a fatal blow to Van Buren's aspirations. He gloomily forecast that a "serious and powerful effort" would be made to find a new candidate in which most of the Democratic congressmen would undoubtedly join. This new development was, in Johnson's opinion, a most certain detriment to the candidacy of Polk.[38]

Johnson, himself, at least as early as April 18, had declared for immediate annexation.[39] When his favorite presidential candidate announced his opposition to this, Johnson's consternation was great. All was confusion in Congress, he reported, and the business of the nation was at a standstill. "In my opinion," he asserted pessimistically, "we are broke up *here* & I see *no hope* of mending matters . . . ." Although he felt that "prudence & forbearance & moderation" might do much to alleviate the distress, the future of the Democratic party apparently never appeared more hopeless to him than at the end of April, 1844.[40]

At this time, Johnson seemingly did not consider Polk as a possible presidential candidate. Following Van Buren's damaging announcement, he continued to regard his confidant solely as vice-presidential timber without a suggestion that he might be "available" for the higher nomination. Despite the confusion in the Democratic ranks, he did not believe that the New Yorker could be replaced at the head of the party. He was convinced that Van Buren would be nominated by the regular Democrats and a third party would be formed solely on the question of immediate annexation.[41] Although he was in favor of annexation, Johnson assured Polk that he would stand by the ex-President as long as he was supported by the New York Democrats.[42] Convinced as he was that Van Buren's success was necessary for Polk to receive the vice-presidential nomination, Johnson could do nothing else. If some other candidate received the presidential nomination, particularly one from the South or West, Polk's vice-presidential possibilities would be lessened considerably.

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[37]Johnson to Van Buren, April 20, 1844, Van Buren Papers.

[38]Johnson to Polk, April 28, 1844, Polk Papers. Polk had declared for the immediate "re-annexation" of Texas on April 23 in a letter to a committee from Ohio. Nashville *Union*, April 30, 1844.

[39]Samuel H. Laughlin to Polk, April 26, 1844, Polk Papers.

[40]Johnson to Polk, April 30, 1844, *ibid.*

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]Johnson to Polk, May 3, 1844, *ibid.*

The Democratic nominating convention was scheduled to be held in Baltimore on May 27, 1844, and, as the time for the conclave approached, Johnson's pessimism rapidly increased. Annexation of Texas and the presidential nomination had become inseparable and, as early as May 5, he had despaired of a reconciliation among the many discordant elements within the party. He had decided that further efforts at unity were futile until the party had gathered for the selection of candidates.[43]

Although the Texas annexation treaty, promulgated by President Tyler and Secretary of State Calhoun, was still before the Senate, Johnson believed that it had no chance for ratification. He thought that the treaty itself was satisfactory, "but the Documents accompanying are horrible, beging [*sic*], entreating, coaxing, threatening, lying as all say here—& placing the ground for annexation on the slavery question."[44] He strongly advised Polk that the party in Tennessee should "carefully distinguish between *the treaty* & *annexation*—the treaty *is dead*—but *annexation* as soon *as practicable* & Van upon the principles of his letter, the *best man to secure it.*"[45] A week later, however, he was able to visualize no salvation for the party unless a candidate could be found who had no connection with either Van Buren or Calhoun and who favored annexation.[46] This, of course, would eliminate Polk (if Johnson had ever considered him, which is doubtful), as well as the two sectional leaders, from presidential consideration.

A few days later Johnson received the first indication that Andrew Jackson and others in Tennessee were contemplating the substitution of Polk for Van Buren at the head of the Democratic ticket. Polk informed Johnson that he and General Robert Armstrong had recently visited the old General at the Hermitage. They found Old Hickory no longer confident of Van Buren's success and learned that he had written the New Yorker to that effect. Jackson was now convinced that the candidate should be from the Southwest and should be an advocate of annexation. Polk was to be that man. Polk assured Johnson that he had never considered such a possibility and aspired only to the second office which he believed that his friends could procure for him. "I am however in their hands," he reminded Johnson, "and they can use my name in any way they may think proper."[47]

The following day Polk unveiled to Johnson a plan designed to "save the party." Johnson was to arrange quietly for a meeting of one member from each state delegation to the convention. This unofficial caucus was to decide upon a candidate and each delegate was to use his influence with the remaining delegates from his own state. If this plan was carried out ener-

[43]Johnson to Polk, May 5, 1844, *ibid.*
[44]Johnson to Polk, May 3, 1844, *ibid.*
[45]Johnson to Polk, May 5, 1844, *ibid.*
[46]Johnson to Polk, May 12, 1844, *ibid.*
[47]Polk to Johnson, May 13, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 240.

getically, Polk believed that it would succeed. The important thing was to keep the initiative in the hands of the delegates from the states. Polk implied that his prospects would be much more favorable if the members of Congress were kept in the background as much as possible. When Johnson had perfected this scheme, Polk instructed him, he was to entrust the detail work to General Gideon J. Pillow of Tennessee, "who will be a most efficient man in carrying out such a plan."[48]

Johnson was named delegate-at-large to the convention from Tennessee and Polk's letters of instruction continued to reach him until he departed for Baltimore. Polk informed him that he desired his name to be presented to the convention and not voluntarily withdrawn under any circumstances. "My interests are committed to my friends," Polk affirmed, "and mainly to yourself."[49] If Van Buren's name was withdrawn, and Polk thought it probable, the New Yorker's friends would be the controlling factor in the selection of a compromise candidate. In the event this occurred, Polk could see no reason why he should not be the candidate. He confided to Johnson:

> You will be on the spot and will be best able to judge. Whatever is desired to be done, communicate to *Genl. Pillow*. He is one of the shrewdest men you ever knew, and can *execute* whatever is resolved on with as much success as any man who will be at Baltimore.[50]

Johnson was instructed by Polk, therefore, to take the lead in formulating the plans for a Polk movement and was to entrust the details to Pillow.

In spite of these minute details and Polk's growing optimism, Johnson was discouraged on the eve of the convention. As late as May 25, by which time he was certainly aware of the movement instigated by Jackson to have Polk presented as a compromise candidate,[51] Johnson had neither expressed an opinion nor offered encouragement to Polk concerning his higher aspirations. Instead, with Van Buren's chance for the nomination rapidly disappearing with the probability that the two-thirds rule would be adopted by the convention, Johnson informed Polk of a rather desperate plan for substituting Silas Wright for the ex-President;[52] this would leave Polk as the strongest vice-presidential candidate. Such reluctance on the part of Johnson to consider his friend as a candidate for the presidency is difficult

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[48]Polk to Johnson, May 14, 1844, *ibid.* The meeting was held on May 22 but no candidate could be agreed upon by the delegates. Laughlin to Polk, May 23, 1844, Polk Papers.

[49]Polk to Johnson, May 4, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 239.

[50]Polk to Johnson, May 17 [14], 1844, *ibid.*, 242-44. The editor stated that this letter appeared to be dated May 14 but its contents indicate May 17 as the correct date.

[51]Polk's letters ordinarily reached Johnson in seven to ten days; therefore, he probably had received Polk's letters of May 13 and 14.

[52]Johnson to Polk, May 25, 1844, Polk Papers. For an earlier suggestion of the same idea, see *id.* to *id.*, May 16, 1844, *ibid.*

to comprehend although, with his habitual pessimism, perhaps he did not wish to encourage Polk without adequate evidence of a strong Polk movement in Washington. This, in addition to his refusal to abandon Van Buren while hope remained, must explain why Johnson was not among the first to advocate Polk's pretensions to the highest office. In any event, Johnson departed for Baltimore on May 26 with faint hope of success either at the convention or in the election to follow in November.

The National Democratic Convention assembled on May 27 in the Odd Fellows Hall in Baltimore. Hendrick B. Wright of Pennsylvania was named president of the gathering with a vice-president from each state. Cave Johnson was selected as the vice-president from Tennessee and also represented the state on the committee on credentials. The Tennessee delegation announced no preference for the highest office but endorsed Polk for the vice-presidential nomination.[53]

The first order of business on the second day of the convention was the adoption of the rule governing the majority necessary for a choice in the selection of candidates. The last possibility of a nomination for Van Buren depended upon the abandonment of the two-thirds rule which had controlled the Democratic conventions since 1832. Although his supporters believed that he could obtain a simple majority, a two-thirds vote in the New Yorker's favor was deemed impossible of achievement. Their fears were realized, moreover, when the issue was placed before the convention. Opposition to Van Buren was strong enough to adopt the two-thirds rule and the ex-President's final hope disappeared.

Van Buren received a clear majority on the first ballot with General Cass as his closest rival.[54] Through seven ballots these men continued to receive the bulk of the votes with the New Yorker losing ground steadily to Cass. The convention adjourned for the day after the seventh ballot with no selection of a standard bearer in sight.[55]

The nomination of the Democratic candidate was actually decided upon during the evening of the second day of the convention, May 28. Polk's name was suggested and it was agreed that he should be presented to the delegates as a candidate for the presidency.[56] The balloting was resumed on the following day with the eighth ballot, which gave Cass the lead and

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[53]*Niles' National Register,* LXVI (1844), 213-15.

[54]This, of course, indicates that many Van Buren delegates voted against the abandonment of the two-thirds rule.

[55]*Niles' National Register,* LXVI (1844), 216. Opposition to Van Buren from Tennessee was apparent when 13 of the Tennessee delegates voted for Cass on all seven ballots.

[56]Although Henry Hubbard of New Hampshire presented Polk's name to the convention, it is unknown to whom the distinction belongs of first suggesting Polk's name at the meeting. Pillow and George Bancroft of Massachusetts both claimed the honor. Pillow to Polk, May 29, 1844, Polk Papers; Bancroft to I. G. Harris, August 30, 1887, Jesse S. Reeves (ed.), "Letters of Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk,

included Polk with a total of forty-four votes. Led by New York's delegation, the rush then began to the Tennessean and he was declared the unanimous choice of the convention on the ninth ballot.[57] Silas Wright of New York was nominated as his running mate but declined the honor. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was the second choice of the delegates and he accepted.

Because of a lack of concrete information, it is difficult to assess Johnson's role in the selection of his friend, James K. Polk. It seems very apparent that he carried out the latter's instructions as far as possible. Although he was undoubtedly pessimistic on the eve of the convention, this was not unusual as his gloomy outlook was well known among his colleagues in Congress and in his home district. It is inconceivable that he became so full of despair that he left the entire matter of the nomination in the hands of Pillow, as the latter maintained.[58] Unless Johnson abandoned his customary role as a "behind-the-scenes" worker during the convention, it seems probable that he played a major role in all that transpired at Baltimore. At any rate, the successful nominee believed that he did because he wrote: "I am under many personal obligations to my friends—and to yourself especially—for the agency which I know you had in bringing about the result."[59]

The nomination of Polk, according to a jubilant Johnson, was well received by the majority of the Democratic party. He believed that there had never been such confidence of success nor such unanimity as was in evidence among the delegates. "Immense crowds are now assembled in different parts of the city," he reported, "listening to the democratic thunder of our noble orators."[60] The pessimism of the previous months had completely disappeared and Johnson was soon the most sanguine of the Polk leaders.

The Whigs, who had nominated their leader, Henry Clay, earlier in the month, received the news of Polk's nomination with disbelief followed by derision and renewed confidence in their own success. Philip Hone, who had kind words for no Democrat, dubbed Polk "General Jackson's chief cook

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1844," *American Historical Review* (New York), XI (1905-1906), 841. Another delegate to the convention, Ira A. Eastman of New Hampshire, stated that he was the first to suggest Polk's name. According to Eastman, he proposed Polk as a candidate for the presidency to Johnson and another delegate. The three men then brought others into the scheme with Polk's nomination the result. Eastman to Johnson, August 10, 1844, Polk Papers. Johnson, himself, stated months later that John Kettlewell of Baltimore had been the first to suggest the Tennessean's name. Johnson to Polk, January 11, 1845, *ibid.*

[57]*Niles' National Register*, LXVI (1844), 218.

[58]Pillow to Polk, May 24, 25, 1844, Reeves (ed.), "Letters of Pillow to Polk," *loc. cit.*, 837, 839.

[59]Polk to Johnson, June 8, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 244.

[60]Johnson to Polk, May 29, 1844, Polk Papers.

and bottle-washer."[61] The Whig senator from North Carolina, Willie P. Mangum, was elated over the choice of the opposition. He exulted:

> It is *a literal disbanding of the party for this campaign.* The sole object is to keep the party *in harness* for '48. . . . No matter who may be nominated [for the vice-presidency after it was refused by Wright], we will literally crush the ticket. They feel it. They know it.[62]

"Who is James K. Polk?" became the campaign slogan of the Whigs and their confidence mounted despite the rising popularity of the annexation issue.

Following the adjournment of the nominating convention, Cave Johnson plunged immediately into the campaign. As in Polk's previous campaigns for speaker of the House and vice-president, he assumed the role of campaign manager for his friend, apparently without being so designated by the candidate. Polk had asked him for suggestions in his first letter following the news of his nomination,[63] and Johnson's replies, couched in a commanding manner, indicated that he intended to assume control over the destinies of his friend as much as possible. His first letters cautioned Polk against committing himself or the party on the leading issues of the day. He warned the candidate that the less he said, the less the party would have to account for later. In the interest of future freedom of action, Polk was advised not to answer any letters addressed to him.[64]

The apparent unity of the Democratic party was particularly gratifying to Johnson. He believed that there was more solidarity than at any time since Jackson's successful campaign of 1832 and stated that the "Democrats seem to have caught inspiration from the Whig campaign—we out write, out speak & out sing them." Despite this unity, however, Polk would have to treat the tariff issue carefully. Johnson cautioned him to remember that a president should have nothing to do with a tariff measure except to sign it when it reached him from Congress. He should recall that all the party claimed was *"revenue with incidental protection"* and shape his course ac-

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[61]Bayard Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, 2 vols. (New York, 1910), II, 224.

[62]Willie P. Mangum to P. H. Mangum, May 29, 1844, Willie P. Mangum Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

[63]Polk to Johnson, June 8, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 244.

[64]Johnson to Polk, May 31, 1844, Polk Papers. In this letter Johnson revealed his deep respect for Silas Wright of New York in an explanation of Wright's refusal of the vice-presidential nomination. He informed Polk that Wright had declined the honor rather than be suspected of designing to replace Van Buren. "What a wonderful thing," Johnson declared, "that Wright has been offered in *one month*, the nomination for Gov. of N. York—a seat upon the Supreme Bench of the U. S. Court—the nomination with certain assurances of success of President & Vice president & *rejected them all*—and all on account of his friendship for Van Buren."

[65]Johnson to Polk, May 31, June 3, 5, 10, 1844, *ibid.*

cordingly.[65] When Polk's views on the tariff were made public in the "Kane Letter," they conformed to this line of reasoning and became the Democratic position on the subject.[66]

Johnson's visions of party unity began to disappear in the middle of June and a split in Democratic ranks along North-South lines seemed imminent. To counteract this possibility, Johnson suggested that a great mass meeting be held at Nashville, Tennessee, during the summer to which the leading party members from all sections would be invited. In the meantime, Polk was warned to "stand to your old position between the Northern and Southern democrats and all will go well."[67] Johnson was laboring in Washington, also, in an effort to preserve party unity. He called a caucus of congressional leaders from both sections but discovered that harmony could be assured only by making certain that the gathering accomplished nothing.[68] The remainder of the congressional session, therefore, witnessed feverish attempts by Johnson to ward off dissension within the party without committing Polk to either sectional extreme on the leading political questions.

Throughout the country during the early summer the strength of the Democratic party was increasing. The party slogans calling for the "re-annexation" of Texas and the "re-occupation" of Oregon appealed to all who desired either to see the United States expand or to take the measure of Great Britain. Whig attempts to connect the Democratic platform with slavery expansion were largely unsuccessful as were Clay's efforts to recede from his stand on annexation. The paramount issue of the campaign soon became the question of American expansion which even the magic of Clay's name could not overcome. The prospects for Democratic success continued bright as the summer progressed.[69]

The possibility of a sectional cleavage within the Democratic ranks was uppermost in the minds of Johnson and Polk during these months. Plans were going forward for the meeting in Nashville but many Democrats feared that it would be regarded as a southern convention and thereby harm the party. The date for the meeting had been set originally for July 24 but Polk objected to this date for many northern leaders would be unable to attend.[70] At his suggestion, therefore, the date was postponed until August. Johnson was very apprehensive that the meeting might be regarded as a southern affair, an impression which the organizers wanted to avoid at all costs. He pointed out to Polk that

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[66]Polk to J. K. Kane, June 19, 1844 (copy), *ibid.*

[67]Johnson to Polk, June 10, 1844, *ibid.*

[68]Johnson to Polk, June 13, 1844, *ibid.*

[69]President Tyler was renominated by a convention composed principally of officeholders on May 27. He withdrew from the race, however, when he realized that his candidacy would undoubtedly draw votes from Polk rather than Clay. He and the majority of his followers supported the Democratic candidates.

[70]Polk to Johnson, June 21, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 245.

> Mason and Dickson's [Dixon's] line now divides the Methodist church & will soon divide the other churches—this movement will tend to divide political parties by it—the Texian question brings into the contest the fanaticism of the north with increased power—our only safety for the country & our cause depends upon the Southern democracy maintaining the position we have heretofore occupied—firm & consistent friends of the Northern democracy—yielding much for [illegible] & harmony.[71]

The task of maintaining a national character for the convention fell to Johnson in addition to the direction of the details for the proposed assemblage.

Johnson spent the month of July electioneering throughout Tennessee on behalf of the Democratic candidates.[72] He was recognized as one of the best stump speakers in the party and his presence on a platform usually assured a large audience.[73] He was in Polk's home town of Columbia on July 13 where, according to the Nashville *Union*, he delivered an excellent address.[74] In his own district he believed that the candidate's popularity was increasing and he promised Polk that it would return a greater increase in the Democratic vote than any district in Tennessee. From throughout the state he was besieged by letters and invitations to speak but he could not understand how he could possibly acknowledge all of them.[75] In addition to these activities, Polk called upon Johnson to write to the leading northern party members concerning the approaching meeting at Nashville.[76] Before the end of July the strain had begun to tell upon Johnson, but he continued his active campaigning as long as he was physically able.

The long awaited mass meeting was held on August 16 at Camp Hickory, a large open field near Nashville. It was a complete success, according to the party press, and was "one of the greatest and most brilliant popular gatherings ever known." Bands, marching militia, and gaily dressed throngs filled the city from sunrise to sunset. Nashville was unable to accomodate all of the visitors and tents were pitched at Camp Hickory for those without lodgings. Even though politics were then primarily a male diversion, the ladies were much in evidence, thereby illustrating their approval of the en-

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[71]Johnson to Polk, June 21, 1844, Polk Papers.

[72]As most Tennesseans favored annexation regardless of party, the state campaign was waged largely on other issues. The Democrats were handicapped by dissension among the state party members which undoubtedly contributed to Polk's loss of the state. Moore, "Polk: Politician," *loc. cit.*, 513-14.

[73]Clara Bracken Washburn, "Some Aspects of the 1844 Presidential Campaign in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, IV (1945), 61.

[74]Nashville *Union*, July 18, 1844.

[75]Johnson to Polk, July 22, 1844, Polk Papers. Many letters called upon Johnson to raise money in behalf of the candidates. *Cf.* J. L. O'Sullivan to Johnson, July 8, 1844, *ibid.*

[76]Polk to Johnson, July 16, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 247.

tire affair. It was reported that nothing had ever been seen in the West to equal this Democratic display.[77]

When the convention was called to order, Johnson was elected president and delivered the opening address. His remarks were designed quickly to dispel any thoughts of disunity in the minds of those who professed to regard the meeting as a southern assembly. He expressed his gratification for having the opportunity "to give a direct contradiction to the false charge of disunion, and a wish to dissolve the Union, which had been propagated by the whig press of this and other States, against those concerned in calling and getting up the present meeting." He asserted emphatically "in the presence of this assembly and Heaven" that those charges were false. He called for continued harmony and understanding within the party and predicted a glorious victory for the Democratic candidates. Johnson concluded his remarks with the hallowed phrase, "The Union must be preserved," and added dramatically, "THE UNION SHALL BE PRESERVED."[78]

During the course of the two-day meeting, speeches were made by party orators from various sections of the country. Few of the leaders from the North were able to attend but all sent letters of regret which were duly printed in the Nashville *Union*.[79] At the close of the conclave all Democrats agreed that much good had been accomplished, and Johnson rightly believed that his efforts had been successful. Despite a similar meeting of the Whigs a week later which surpassed the Democratic gathering in noise and color, he was confident that the state would return to the Democratic column in the November voting.

Plans for the final two months of the campaign occupied Johnson and Polk during the remainder of August. They realized that success for the party in Tennessee depended upon covering the state with the best speakers available. Presidential candidates did not speak in their own behalf during those years, and Polk relied upon Johnson to appear as often as possible as well as to enlist the aid of other orators. Johnson was to tour the state east of the Tennessee River, an important assignment in view of the opposition of Andrew Johnson to Polk's candidacy. Polk told Cave Johnson that "it is no flattery when I say to you that your fame will draw out large crowds and you must [not disappoint them]."[80] At no time were the candidate's devotion to detail and Johnson's fidelity to the party more evident than during those hectic months.

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[77]*Niles' National Register*, LXVII (1844), 3-4.

[78]Nashville *Union*, August 17, 1844.

[79]*Ibid.* Among these were James Buchanan, Stephen A. Douglas, Silas Wright, Richard M. Johnson, and Franklin Pierce.

[80]Polk to Johnson, August 23, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 249. Polk's letters of August 20, 22, 26, 28, 1844, illustrate the preparations made to assure adequate coverage of Tennessee by Democratic speakers. *Ibid.*, 247-50.

In the midst of the strenuous campaign, however, Johnson's health failed and he was of little value to the Polk forces for several weeks in August and September.[81] On a number of occasions he attempted to fill speaking engagements only to be forced to return home.[82] As he had been scheduled for the most important localities, the Democrats were hard pressed to find a substitute.[83] By October he was able to resume electioneering, although it was necessary for him to ride in a carriage as he was no longer able to make long journeys on horseback. He was still not at his oratorical best, however, for his voice often failed, making it necessary for his friends to finish his speeches for him.[84] His confidence in ultimate Democratic victory remained unshaken, nevertheless, in spite of his own physical disability.

Johnson reported in the middle of October that he had neglected nothing in his district.[85] Success was assured, Polk responded, and "the State is now *safe,* if we can keep her so. To do this will require all our energy and vigilence [*sic*]."[86] In order to aid in keeping the state "safe," Johnson had journeyed as far west as Memphis and had been welcomed in every locality.[87] During the last ten days of the campaign, however, he planned to remain in his home district, where he felt certain of a large majority for Polk and Dallas.

Elsewhere in the country, Democratic leaders were predicting success for their candidates. The expansion platform of the party was popular in the South, auguring defeat for the Whigs in that section. Southern voters, also, were dissatisfied with accounts of Whig-Abolitionist combinations in the North. Clay, on the other hand, was strong in the middle states and in those sections of the North in which expansion was identified with slavery extension. As the election approached, it became evident that New York with her thirty-six electoral votes would be the pivotal state with the issue likewise in doubt in Ohio and Indiana. In such states as Pennsylvania, the outcome would rest more on party principles than on the question of territorial expansion. The race promised to be close and Polk's home state loomed more important than ever in the closing days of the campaign.

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[81]Johnson's health was uncertain throughout the last thirty years of his life. His ailment was described as either rheumatism or neuralgia at various times. It may have stemmed from a severe attack of fever in 1825 which nearly cost him his life.

[82]Johnson to Polk, August 25, 29, 1844, Polk Papers.

[83]Polk to Johnson, August 26, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 249. One historian believed that Polk's failure to carry Tennessee might have been the result of Johnson's inability to speak in several of the doubtful areas. Washburn, "Some Aspects of the 1844 Presidential Campaign in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, 62. Although this is a possible explanation for the narrow Whig victory, it must be remembered that Polk had been defeated twice in gubernatorial elections prior to this time.

[84]Johnson to Polk, October 4, 1844, Polk Papers.

[85]Johnson to Polk, October 10, 1844, *ibid.*

[86]Polk to Johnson, October 9, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 250.

[87]Memphis *Appeal*, September 20, 1844, reprinted in Nashville *Union*, October 4, 1844; Laughlin to Polk, October 6, 1844, Polk Papers.

Shortly before election day a mass meeting, which was typical of the campaign methods employed throughout the state by both parties, was held in Johnson's district at Port Royal, Montgomery County. Following a large dinner, a group of young ladies formed a procession and approached the speaker's platform where Johnson, the guest of honor, and other local notables sat. At the head of the column several marchers carried huge banners upon which pictures of Polk and Dallas were fastened above the word "Texas." Eleven ladies followed, each holding a letter of Johnson's name. The marchers then sat on the platform facing the audience so that the tribute to the three men was visible to all. Johnson rose, thanked the ladies for their efforts, and launched into a speech on Polk, Dallas, and Texas which continued until nearly sundown.[88]

Although Polk and Johnson remained confident of success during the final days of the campaign, they were concerned with the possibility of irregularities in voting along the Tennessee-Kentucky border. To counteract this, Polk admonished Johnson to "Let no Democrat, not one remain at home on the day of the election."[89] Johnson assured him that elaborate arrangements had been made to prevent fraudulent voters from reaching the polls in his district.[90] He was certain that everything possible had been done to insure a correct vote and that Tennessee would return to the Democratic column.

For the third time, Henry Clay was unsuccessful in a bid for the highest office in the nation. The election returns revealed that Polk had received 170 electoral votes to 105 for the Whig candidate. New York had been carried by the Tennessean by a narrow margin, possibly because of the presence of a third candidate in the field, James G. Birney, the Liberty party nominee. The Democrats, however, had failed in Tennessee once again, this time by only 113 votes. Although Johnson could find meager consolation in the fact that his home district had returned a majority of 656 votes for Polk,[91] only the realization that his friend had won the election without the aid of his home state could completely temper his disappointment.

Following the successful conclusion of the campaign, Johnson found himself in the midst of speculation concerning the composition of Polk's cabinet. The President-elect consulted him on all of his selections, with the exception of the secretary of the treasury, yet there is no indication that Johnson considered his own appointment to the cabinet a possibility.[92] Polk, nevertheless, tendered him the position of postmaster general shortly after his arrival in

[88]Nashville *Union*, October 26, 1844.
[89]Polk to Johnson, October 30, 1844, "Polk-Johnson Letters," 253.
[90]Johnson to Polk, November 2, 1844, Polk Papers.
[91]Nashville *Union*, November 14, 1844.
[92]Johnson to James Buchanan, December 13, 1850, James Buchanan Papers (Pennsylvania Historical Society).

the Capital in February and Johnson accepted on February 26, 1845.[93] Instead of retirement which Johnson had been contemplating for a number of years, he was on the threshhold of a new career.

Although it is impossible to say that any one individual was responsible for the success of James K. Polk, certainly Cave Johnson contributed greatly to his triumph. Throughout Polk's career Johnson was his constant adviser and most enthusiastic booster. Apparently the advancement of Polk was the foremost goal of the older man even, if necessary, to the detriment of his own political fortunes.[94] Recognition of Johnson's role in the success of the new chief executive finally came in his appointment to the post usually reserved for the best politician in the party and the president's closest adviser—the headship of the Post Office Department.

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[93]Johnson to Polk, February 26, 1845, Polk Papers.

[94]When Polk was defeated for re-election as governor of Tennessee in 1841, Johnson offered to resign his seat in the House if Polk would move to his district and take his place. Johnson stated that the party needed Polk's services in Washington while he would prefer being at home with his family. Johnson to Polk, August 15, 1841, *ibid.*

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt.*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, Nos. 9-24)
XVII—January-March, 1791.

WILLIAMS TO GAYOSO, NATCHEZ, JANUARY 16, 1791[1]

Natchez the 16th of Janu. 1791

May It Pleas your Excelence

As a duty Incumbent I Beg Leave to Present you with the Perticulars of Sum Information I Receved In My Voige to the Kentucke Countrey Respecting the Settlement of the yasso Company at the Walnut Hills.[2] On the 20th of November I arived at the Falls of Ohio on my way to this place & on the proceeding day General Clark[3] Came on board to See me where he asked Me many Questions In Regaurd to this Countrey. & Informed me that he was Solicited Verey warmley by Doctor Ofallon,[4] In behalf of the yasso Company to Except a Deputation for the Carreying on & Establishing a Settlement at the walnut hills. But did not appear to be aneways ankuous to Except It. the day following Doctor Ofallon & the General Rode Sum distence to the Countrey from Whence they did not Return Till My departure & on the Eavening which was the 26th Novemr. I Receaved a note from the General In answer to one I Sent him on private Business, where he wrote he was Agent for the Yasso Company & Should be down this Spring when he hoped to have the pleasure of findind [finding] his friends in perfect health Saying at the Same time he would be happy to have It [in] his power to Serve me as well as his other old friends, I answered him I Should Ever be Obligated to him for favours of a private Nature, but as I had left the united States & had Taken protection from his Catholick Majesty purely from principles I Could not think of Receaving aney of a publick Nature

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A.G.I., P.C., legajo 41. The writer of this letter arrived in Natchez the previous March from South Carolina bringing twenty-five slaves. Another from that state, Preston Tendesley, brought seven slaves on the same flatboat. See Grand Pre to Miró, March 12, 1790, in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 parts: Vols. II, III, and IV of *Annual Report*, American Historical Association (Washington, 1949), Part II, 313.

[2]Site of Vicksburg.

[3]General George Rogers Clark.

[4]Dr. James O'Fallon. Since Williams was originally from South Carolina it was natural for O'Fallon to infer that he would be a good leader to make the settlement at Walnut Hills for the South Carolina Yazoo Company. Furthermore, Williams' prominence in the Natchez district might induce a number of its inhabitants to move to the new colony.

&c - on the Same day Capt James Sullivan[5] Inhabitant near the falls Came to See Me & Informed me that Doctor Ofallon lodged in his house who told him that he had Indeavoured to Ingage General Wilkerson [Wilkinson] to undertake the Settlement but he Refused his offers & would not have nothing to do with It, I ask[ed] when Doctor Ofallon would be Down, he told me [not f]or Sum time but Clark would be Ready by [Christm]ass & would Certainley Start then If the weath[er would] permit him, I asked him how maney people they had Ingaged to Cum down, he answered 700 but they were not yet Imbodied, Colo. John Holder[6] & Ct. Thomas Kennedy[7] Is to Command the troops under Clark, I Saw Several of these Recruiting officers, Namley John Sapington Ms. Runnolds Simon Kenton Captaines,[8] they likewise Informed me that Phillip Alstun[9] & James Drumgold[10] antient Inhabitants of this place Is appointed Captaines - William Sulivan Son to the before Sd. Capt Sulivan Is appointed one of the Commisareys to the Indians, I asked him Wheather they had an othority from Congress he told me they had, but I never Could See aney Records for It Nether from the Minutes of Congress or Yazoo [torn off] when the Matter is Represented By othority, However the[y] are determined appearently to Cum - The people of Kentucke appear to be devided In Opinion In Respect of the Setlement In Vew [View], those who wish to Transport there produce Down Is of Opinion that the attemting Such Settlement will obstruct the hole Business, & those Who have none to Bring does not Consider the Benefit of Such privilege. the latter I beleve to be the persons Generally Ingaged In the Enterprize, the Companey Gives them 300 or 350 Acres of land and all other Nessesareys for Eighteen Months, when they are to be Releved by a Body of Continentals (they Say) Sulivan likewise Informed me that they Intend to plant the Standerd at the Mouth of Coles Creek
which is all I Can Recollect at present of aney moment, therefore have the Honour to Conclude . . .

John Williams

Dn. Manuel Gayoso Governor
of the District of Natchez
Present

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[5]Captain James Sullivan was one of the eight men selected by the Virginia legislature in 1780 to lay out the town of Louisville. Lewis and R. H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2nd edition (Louisville, 1924), II, 378.

[6]A roster of the officers of the proposed Yazoo Battalion as of September 16, 1790, appears in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 117. Holder was listed as its colonel. He had long held the colonelcy of the militia of the Lexington area where he was sheriff.

[7]Williams used the militia rank of Kennedy, but the latter was slated to be the lieutenant colonel of the Yazoo Battalion. *Ibid*, 117.

[8]John Sappington and Thomas Reynolds are both listed as captains in the roster of September 16, 1790, cited in note 6, but Kenton was a later addition. Sappington was one of the early settlers in Boonesborough.

[9]Phillip Alston had lived in the Natchez district since the British period. See Blommart to Col. John McGillivray, August 8, 1778, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, I, 301.

[10]James Drumgold seems to have been the head of the family of that name in the Coles's Creek district. A relative named Frankey Drumgold registered title to the land after American occupation. See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 888.

O'FALLON TO MORTON, LOUISVILLE, FEBRUARY 2, 1791[11]

Louisville Feby 2d 1791

No. 30.

Dear Sir/

The Small draught, for Fifty Guineas, which I have drawn upon You, in favor of Capt. Alexander Brackenridge,[12] and of which I have transmitted advice, has, I trust been duly honor'd. It was for a proprietory House, about to be Constructed by that Gentleman, and, by him to be Erected at the Walnut Hills.-

In a Letter from the Board, handed to Me by Spring,[13] on his first coming down to this place, I was led to understand that the late Treasurer, Mr. Inglis,[14] on whom my Bills, in Your, Mr Shorts,[15] & Genl. Wilkinson's favor have been drawn, has been Superseded by Mr William Shurtliff,[16] now a respectable Mercht in Charleston, as consequence of Some improvident dispute between Inglis & the Director. I am not, therefore, at all surprized, that Inglis (on whom your draughts have been, officially made, and who may have some resentment, for the Sudden mode of his displacement, to take upon the Company) should, as far as he can do it, Dishonor those draughts,[17] which, in fact, are the Companies and only mine, as their Agent; but I entertain not a doubt, about their being immediately taken up by the new Treasurer, Else, the Company, and all their prospects go to the Devil - their past Advances Sunk, and their Settlement ruined & overset forever Add to this that the Company knows me too well to provoke my resentment - After all, the Company must be aware, that, if Worth them in the World, they must eventually, redeem *their own* Bills (your Bills in particular) which their Commissioned and duly authorized Genl. Agent had drawn on them, for the purposes of the very mission they had committed to him. I say your Bills in particular-; for the Goods engaged of You, (Which I wrote to the Company for, to be Shipped from Charleston) were in the very directors Letter to Me, of Sepr. last Ordered to be bought by me in *Kentucky*, and my plan abt- [about] raising and providing the Batallion warmly recommended & approved of, Beside this, I have Letters of Credence from the original proprietary. Should it, therefore, So happen, that a Bill of my Drawing shall have returned; some unthought of fatal event must have befallen the Company. On the Whole, my Dear friend, I do not, upon reflexion think it possible, that a Bill of mine shall return, or that a Single engagement of mine *can be* uncomplied with.

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[11]A.G.I., P.C., 2374. William Morton set up as a general merchant in Lexington, in December of 1790. The *Kentucky Gazette*, December 4, 1790, ff., contains his opening announcements.

[12]Captain Alexander Brackinridge of Jefferson County. He represented the county in the Danville convention of 1787. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 354.

[13]This Spring has not been identified. He probably was a resident at Spring's Station, a settlement opened in Jefferson County in 1784. See Charles Kerr, *History of Kentucky*, 5 vols. (Chicago and New York, 1922), I, 209.

[14]Alexander Inglis, treasurer of the South Carolina Yazoo Company.

[15]Peyton Short, Wilkinson's business associate in Lexington.

[16]For the company's organization and history see J. C. Parish, "The Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XVII (1930-31), 230-63.

[17]O'Fallon could have thanked Wilkinson for this sad turn of his fortunes, for the General had engineered the protesting of his bills. See Wilkinson to Miró, March 17, 1791, below.

It is therefore, that I pray You to Stand firm - *Short & yourself* - & not to Yeild to the Slanderous propagations of interested *Men* - interested from *Various Motive,* who have long been Jealous of the rapidity & Sweep of my movements, & wish to Sap, to undermine & blow up the purposes of the Company. Would it not be agreable to Spain, to do So? I *know all that is going on in that quarter.* I shall now, be up with you in a few days. Since my arrival here, I have done with Cumberland, Jefferson, Cannadas, Post St. Vincent & Kiskaskies[18] more real Business, for the Settlement, than I could, in two Years, have done at Lexington. I had likewise, recd. favorable dispatches from the Chactaws, McGilvery [McGillivray], the Natchez People, & the Chickasaws, with Whom the Spaniards have been *tampering;* but *in Vain,* Genl Clarke (who is now a new man)[19] is Agent for Kentucky, is to accompany Me down to the Hills - and is to Command, in *Chief* as a Brigadier of Georgia, the Troops & Militia.- His Sister Fanny[20] is about to become Mrs- O Fallon. We shall be married the 21st. instant, if nothing unforseen opposes the union. She is in my opinion, an amiable Girl - In a very few days after my Marriage, I shall return to Lexington, Genl. Clarke is to Accompany Me - Please to remember Me, very Sincerely to your whole family to my *friend Short & his Lady,* & to Doct Duke;[21] . . .

Mr William Morton
Mercht Lexington

James O Fallon
Copy from the original
upon Hand
James Wilkinson

N.B. In this Letter O Fallon manifests his Jealousy of me, but was fool enough not to recollect he was writing to a Man of Honor & my Friend - this like his other Letters, is a Chain of Falsehood from beginning to End -
James Wilkinson

O'FALLON TO HOLDER, LOUISVILLE, FEBRUARY 3, 1791[22]

Louisville Feby. 3d. 1791

No. 2.
My Dear Friend

Long & unexpted, as my delay has been here; my time was not Mispent (as you Will Soon hear from all hands) in pleasure, or pastime: Veiling my designs, for some considerable time, after my arrival, under the disguise of plain conversation & Simplicity, among the foremost Characters in Jeffer-

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[18]Kaskaskia, in Illinois country. For other places mentioned, see notes 23, 24, 25, 26 and 52, below.

[19]Clark had been drinking heavily of late and O'Fallon thought he had gotten control of himself. The McGillivray was Alexander McGillivray.

[20]The fifteen-year old Frances Eleanor Clark married O'Fallon a few weeks later. See sketches of her husband and their two noted sons Benjamin and John in *Dictionary of American Biography,* 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), XIII, 631-33.

[21]Dr. Basil Duke had just come to Lexington from Calvert County, Md. About twenty-five at the time, he later settled in Mason County, to become one of its outstanding physicians. See sketch of his life in Collins, *History of Kentucky,* II, 576-78.

[22]A.G.I., P.C., 2374. A note at the end signed by Wilkinson states that this was "a copy from the original upon Honor."

son,[23] Whom I had visited, in company with our dear & mutual friend, Genl Clark; The Yazou fever has, however, been so Solidly infused into their hearts, by me, that it burst forth, at last, & now irresistably rages, not only throughout this County, but in Cumberland & Green River, three Company's are rose in Cumberland,[24] two at Port St Vincent,[25] one at Kiskaskies, and one here, besides two in Franklin.[26] This County Will be depopulated at all events. Its leading men go down With, and some immediately after Me. These are old Mr John Clark, his Son, the Genl his other Son William,[27] With the whole of the Old Mans family & Negroes. By Letters from his two Sons in Virginia (Colo. Jonothan & Edmund) and from his Brother in Law, Mr Rogers,[28] they too follow us in the Summer. The Genl. accompanies me to the Walnut Hills.

Colo Anderson [29] likewise goes,- as does Major Crohan,[30] Colo Bullet,[31] Colo Churchill,[32] Colo Taylor,[33] Mr Sebastian,[34] Capt Heath,[35] with all their families, together with a Number of Settlers, who depend on them. Colo Hardin[36] of Nelson will go down in the Fall, as will the Marquis[37] (from Whom I got a Letter) & his 250 families of French, at the Mouth of the

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[23]Jefferson County, of which Louisville is now the county seat. Created in 1780, this third of the Kentucky counties embraced most of western Kentucky. At the time of O'Fallon's intrigues most of its inhabitants were residing near Louisville, sometimes still called the Falls of the Ohio.

[24]The settlement at Nashville in the Southwest Territory. Compare with Gayoso to Miró, February 13, 1791, below.

[25]Vincennes.

[26]The former state of Franklin; in 1791 it was the eastern part of the Southwest Territory.

[27]Better known as the co-leader of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Northwest.

[28]James Rogers, uncle of George Rogers Clark.

[29]Colonel Richard Clogh Anderson, Sr., brother-in-law of George Rogers Clark. See sketch of his more noted son of the same name in Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 37-38.

[30]Major William Croghan, also a brother-in-law of George Rogers Clark. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 357.

[31]Alexander Scott Bullitt of Bullitt's Lick near Louisville, soon to be the first speaker of the Kentucky state senate, and later the state's first lieutenant-governor. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 350-63, 508-09.

[32]Reference here seems to be to Samuel Churchill, later state senator from Jefferson County. *Ibid.*, II, 352.

[33]Colonel Richard Taylor, father of President Zachary Taylor. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 349.

[34]The oft-mentioned Benjamin Sebastian of the period of Spanish intrigue. See *ibid.*, XVI, 543-44.

[35]A John Heath lived near Maysville and worked in a salt well there. *Calendar of Kentucky Papers in the Draper Manuscripts* (Madison, 1925), 473. The reference here, however, may have been to William Heth, a resident and landowner in Louisville since 1786. See *History of the Ohio Falls Cities and Their Counties*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1882), I, 180.

[36]Colonel John Hardin, for whom a county was named the following year. It was carved out of Nelson County. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 315-17.

[37]Hundreds of French settlers, having been sold land claims by the Scioto Company, had come to America to occupy their purchases, only to find they did not own any land. The leader was the Marquis Francis D'Hebecourt. Congress finally gave the group a tract at what is now Gallipolis, where they began settling late in 1790. It is possible that O'Fallon had a letter from the Marquis, written from the older town of Marietta on the Muskingum, but this is probably an imaginary story. For an account of the French group see E. O. and D. J. Randall, *History of Ohio*, 5 vols. (New York, 1912), II, 485-501.

Muskingum - A Company (under Capt. Bailey)[38] is likewise a raising from among the discharged Soldiers, at Fort Washington, under Harmers Eyes,[39] & 52 families have Contracted With Me to go down, from out of Symme's Settlement.[40] But, in Jefferson, in particular, *Hell* in fact *is in the Wind.* Have you procured the 2 pieces of Cannon, from the Wilderness.[41] If not, do my Dear friend send for them Without loss of time, but slyly. I have ten large and Capital pieces, here concealed, which Genl Clark procured for me, with 5 Swivels,- Christie[42] is, now, bringing them on. I have four more Concealed in another place. I have a Strong Sloop Which will Suit our Navigation, and which Christie is to bring on mounted with Swivels. I have got a genteel framed House for myself, already to be put up in a fortnight. Genl. Robinson[43] is Agent for Cumberland. He goes down with 350 families. Genl. McDowell & Colo Farr[44] are actually building Boats at the Long Island,[45] on Holston, for 756 families & the Frankliners for upwards of 900. The Spaniards have orders from Court to receive us *kindley*[46] this comes to Me by a Packuit [packet] from Colo Bruin,[47] where Nolan now Waits for Me. Bruin has written to Me in the names of 365 Natchez Men as their Mediator or Agent. All those are to join us on our arrival at the Walnut Hills. Miro (as I am informed by one Goutier[48] an Express from Ben James)[49] is gone home - & a new Governor[50] arrived at New Orleans, from Spain. Ben James Writes Me; not to Mind reports to the Contrary: for that the Most of the

[38]Probably either James Bailey or Greenbright Bailey, both of whom lived just across the Ohio River from Fort Washington (site of Cincinnati), in what is now Covington. Collins, *History of Kentucky,* II, 434.

[39]General Josiah Harmar, soon to be Wilkinson's superior when the latter entered the army this same year as lieutenant colonel of regulars. See J. R. Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior, Major-General James Wilkinson* (New York, 1938), 110-14.

[40]On the Symmes Purchase settlement of John Cleves Symmes.

[41]Probably a reference to some cannon that had been stored near the station on the Wilderness Road known as The Crab Orchard (now Crab Orchard, Kentucky).

[42]This may be the Matthew Christie cited in Collins, *History of Kentucky,* II, 349; but a more likely guess is William Christy, landowner in Louisville since 1786. See *Ohio Falls Cities and their Counties,* I, 179.

[43]James Robertson, who was the general of the militia of Mero district in the Southwest Territory.

[44]General Charles McDowell of North Carolina. See S. C. Williams, "French and Other Intrigues in the Southwest Territory," East Tennessee Historical Society, *Publications,* No. 13 (1941), 23, and *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* (Durham, 1932), 41, 482. Colonel Farr has not been otherwise identified, except that he was from South Carolina.

[45]Long Island was a frontier landmark at the junction of the North and South Forks of the Holston River, at Kingsport, Tennessee.

[46]This assumption seems to have been based on the program outlined in the royal order of December 1, 1788, by which Spain planned to encourage frontiersmen to settle in her territory and protect it from the United States. This policy was described in A. P. Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795* (Boston, 1927), 103-07, under the heading "Settling the Goths at the Gates of Rome."

[47]Colonel Peter Bryan Bruin, a prominent resident of the Natchez district. See O'Fallon's letter to him during the following summer, to be printed in *Publications,* No. 26. He had come from Virginia with his father, Peter Bruin, in 1788. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley,* II, 257.

[48]Goutier appears to have been a Frenchman living with the Indians in the vicinity of Ben James' store.

[49]Benjamin James, a trader in the Choctaws, who frequently acted as interpreter for the Spaniards in dealing with those Indians, or with the Chickasaws. See, for instance, Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley,* III, 164-67.

[50]Hector, Baron de Carondelet succeeded Miró in December of 1791.

Chactaw Nation, & all the Chickasaws, will on our arrival, join us, & desert (as McGilvery [McGillivray] did) the Spaniards. McGilvery (a little previous to Goutiers Setting out from the Chactaws), sent a talk to that Nation, Which they recd. in good part. He told them he was an Ally of the United States, & the determined friend of the Company, & that, therefore, one Shot against their Colony, Would be considered as an act of hostility against him & his Nation, & would be revenged. You have, I hope, Circulated among the Troops (and if you have not, now do it) that 300 Acres of Land will indiscriminately, be given, as a Military right to each Soldier, Horse, Artillery, & Infantry. Tell Platt,[53] I wish him Joy; & wish that every Person going down (not excepting myself) may imitate his Example.— On Account of the men of Franklin, Cumberland, the Post [Vincennes], & Kiskaskies (who beg for longer time); We shall not set out before April. Then We Shall be compleat, & in great force; A thing Well done, is never done too late.- I wrote to the Company on this Subject. This time will best Suit every person those excepted who are (for personal reasons) in a *hurry*. I have, in reality, done more Solid Business, since I came here, than I could for a Year do in Lexington. In a Word, I did Wonders, in the *Secret* Way. I even recd. flattering terms from the Governor of Canada,[54] by Express, through Detroit. Their object is to give up New Orleans to the Company, and its dependencies, up to Cole's Creek, on Condition of our Cooperating with a British Expedition, down the Illinois & Mississippi Rivers, against that City & Pensacola. I Politely Parried off this Business: but (until I Shall See What Spain & Congress Will do with Britain) I did Not absolutely dismiss it. I keep this proposal of the Governors in reserve, within my Locker, Say Nothing about it. I have made the president of the union[55] acquainted with it, & *begged his advice* - I shall be detained here (for Genl. Clarke, who is to Visit you with Me) Still longer for about ten days, he is to make a Tour of the upper Counties With Me. You must accompany us. Do My Dear Holder See that the Companies be Mustered, & their Numbers (as they now Stand) returned to You, previous to my arrival. I heard of your Deeds, since my departure, & am thankful to you. I shall return here (which I find to be the Spot of action & Negotiation) with the Genl. & leave With you full Powers to act, & to bring on the Troops &, in my absence, always consider Me, My Dear friend as your devoted & very particular Well Wisher—

J O. Fallon

Colo. Jno Holder

P.S. Respects to yr family. Compliments to Colo McMullin,[54] & the whole Corps of Officers, I mean on my return to take the rounds among them. Owens,[55] Im told, is turned Barrister

[53]Ebenezer Platt of Lexington, slated to be a captain of cavalry in the Yazoo Battalion. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 117.

[54]O'Fallon tried to get support for his plans from the tension between Britain and Spain over the Nootka crisis, but his claim to have gotten the support of officials in Canada seems to be an exaggeration if not worse. See Whitaker's comments in *Spanish-American Frontier*, 141-44.

[55]President George Washington. O'Fallon probably was still exaggerating.

[54]Colonel Samuel McMullin had been one of the three majors in the Kentucky militia that had served under General Arthur St. Clair in 1790. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 24-26. His name does not appear in the list of officers of the Yazoo Battalion cited in note 6.

[55]Henry Owens, an Irish adventurer who tried his hand at almost every job

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO MIRO', NATCHEZ, FEBRUARY 13, 1791[55]

No. 13

Thomas Martin[57] of this District has just arrived at this Post on his way back from Cumberland where he went on private business. He came down in a Pirogue with two men without any cargo.

He asserts that he left the said Country on last January 12th, that he left there two recruiting Officers[58] from Kentucky who were trying to recruit families to go with some who should leave Kentucky shortly to settle at Walnut Hills at the Expense of the Company; but no one took them seriously and that at the time of his departure only three individuals had enlisted.[59]

Although this news adds nothing to that which had been received already relative this matter, I am writing you about this man merely for your information. . . .

Natchez, February 13, 1791.
Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Senor Don Estevan Miró.

WILKINSON TO MIRO', FRANKFORT, FEBRUARY 14, 1791[60]

Frankfort on Kentucky
February 14th. 1791

Sir

I have now the honor to acknowledge the receipt of three Letters from your Excellency, One under the date of the 20th September, & two of the 30th. of the Same Month.-[61]

The public Prints, have before this I have no doubt, announced to you the Issue of McGillivrays visit to Congress: By the treaty, which he con-

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available on the frontier—teacher, soldier of fortune, rascal, message bearer for Wilkinson, etc.—though lawyer does not seem to have been one of his accomplishments. See comments in Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, 194-95.

[55]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

[57]Thomas Martin arrived in Natchez the previous May as a deck hand on a flatboat from Pennsylvania. He then told Grand Pre he intended to return to that state, but evidently changed his mind. See Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, 357. He finally settled on St. Catherine's Creek in the Natchez district. *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 887, 890.

[58]One of the recruiting officers for Cumberland was Captain Phillip Alston. See *Kentucky Gazette*, February 26, 1791. James Drumgold may have been the other. Both were from the Natchez district and were among the officers of the Yazoo Battallion. See note 10, above.

[59]Compare with O'Fallon's fantastic claims in his letter to Holder, February 3, 1791, printed above.

[60]A.G.I., P.C., 2374. Much of the second paragraph of the letter and some of the third paragraph were written in cipher. The officials in New Orleans (probably) Don Andres Armesto did most of it) mistook the dictionary used as a code and wrote in some ridiculous efforts to decipher the numbers Wilkinson had used. The editors have attempted to do a little better, though handicapped somewhat by illegible numbers in a few places. The decoded words are placed within parentheses.

[61]Miró's letters to Wilkinson of September 20 and September 30, 1790, are found in A.G.I., P.C., 2362 (transcripts in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

[62]For a copy of the Treaty of New York see *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 81-82. See also Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, 120-21, 133-39, and J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 40-46, 256-314.

cluded with Washington,[62] it appears that he has renounced (allegiance) to every Power, except the Congress But I am now to inform you, that their are several (surreptitious articles) or conventions which have not yet been officially (stated); The principal of these are doucieur of 20m. Dollars, a Commission of Brigadier in the Armies of the United States, & a pension of 1700 Dollars pr. Annum; (he is stipulated by the Congress as Chief of the Creeks), & as such is protected (by Washington): In consequence of this You will [read] in No. 1 his (order forbidding) all Persons (to enter the Creek lands) without passport from some public Authority of the United States.-

By the Treaty with McGillivray a considerable district of Country belonging (to Georgia), has been ceded to the Creeks,[63] This circumstance has excited great inquietude, in the People of that State, & on the frontiers of North & South Carolina; in one of the Papers Which I now forward, you will find a warm & animated Speech of a Mr. Jackson[64] in Congress, on the Subject of that Treaty; Notwithstanding these discontents, the general Government appears to proceed with firmness, & daily to acquire strength: I am at a loss what Policy to advise you to pursue with (McGillivray), it strikes me that you should preserve (his friendship) as far as practicable, (but to make) no communication (to him), which (he may) employ to ([indecipherable] Spain) with (the Congress), because (he will) certainly [indecipherable] you, whenever (he finds it[to?] his [interest]).

I am of Opinion the Peace which has been made, cannot last long; the Interests of the Indians, & that of the Citizens of the adjacent States, are so opposite & irreconcileable, and both Parties are so vindictive, licentious & ungovernable, that their inherent Animosity, must soon burst forth in Mutual aggressions; (Spain should wait) patiently for this Event, (and be [ready] to take [advantage] of it) - If these crude Ideas, are fallacious, your superior Judgment, will correct them.-

In my last Letter by Mr. Standish Forde,[65] I made some communications to you, respecting Doct. O'Fallon; I have not seen the Doctor since that period, but am assured that he has been actively engaged in the Neighborhood of Louisville, collecting Provisions & Materials, and buying them for his proposed expedition to the Yasou - I expect he has written to you from that place, but you are to pay no regard to his representations or professions, for he is not a man of Veracity, Principle, or good Sense; a Letter which you will find Published under the Philahelphia head[66] in No. 2, written by Himself, will justify the two first charges, and his plan of making His Settlement at the Yasou, in defiance of Spain & the numerous tribes of

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[63]The treaty actually compromised the extreme claims of both Georgians and Creeks. The latter ceded the tract between the Oconee and Ogechee rivers, but the Americans withdrew claims to some valuable hunting grounds west of the Oconee and a large area below the Altamaha.

[64]Representative James Jackson (later governor of Georgia, and United States senator). The speech was delivered on Saturday, December 11, 1790. *Annals of Congress*, 1 Cong., Vol. II (1790-1793), 1839-42.

[65]Wilkinson refers to his letter of December 16, 1790. It is printed in installment XVI of these "Papers" in *Publications*, No. 24 (1952), 121-22.

[66]O'Fallon's letter in question appeared in the *Kentucky Gazette*, February 26, 1791, covering one whole page of the paper. It was dated from Lexington, October 20, 1790, but was printed under a Philadelphia headline of November 23, 1790. Wilkinson probably saw it first in one of the Philadelphia papers.

neighbouring Savages, (for this is realy his plan) evinces the last charge - He has recently engaged General George R. Clark, to take Command of His Troops, He has prepared a number of Boats at Louisville, for their reception, & it is his intention to embark about the 10th. of next Month: In this maturity of His arrangements, it will appear improbable to you, that I shall be able to defeat his Whole projects, yet if I do not greatly deceive myself I shall assuredly to do it, and at the same time, I flatter myself, I shall be able to give a New turn to the Views of his Constituents, Which may favor our plan of Emigration, & even to make use of Him as an Agent - It is unnecessary for me to detail to you, the means I shall employ to accomplish these great Ends: I regret that I was not more explicit, respecting this Gentleman, in my Letter of 20th. July,[67] but I must acknowledge, that I did not at that time rightly understand His Character, and he had deceived me in the Opinion, that he was the ([earnest friend?] of Spain), I was therefore unwilling to go into a Minute exposition, of the Hyperboles, which puffed up his Letter of the 16th. July,[68] I realy thought him sincere in his professions, & that his extravagances, were the result of extraordinary Vanity, & an inflamed imagination, Which usurped the reins of Reason - I know that his Letter, as far as it related to the powers & preparations of the Companies, was a mere tissue of folly, falsehood & bombast, and I deemed it sufficient for your Satisfaction, that I should contradict it positively, but in general terms - I could not suppose that he would have ever dared to recede from the Solemn assurances Which he gave you in that Letter, but in this I was likewise deceived, for I soon discovered, that he rejoiced at the Idea of a British War with Spain, and in consequence thereof altered both His Sentiments & Conduct, for He flattered Himself, if you were pressed by Britain, it would enable Him to dictate terms to you - I shall add Nothing further respecting the Doctor at this time; But my Opinion, that with a liberal Education, extensive literary acquirements & a masterly genius, He is deficient in Judgment to Conduct a great design - I have authentic information, that the Virginia Company, have for the present, declined every Idea of improving their purchase, but the Georgia Company, under the Title of the Tenessee Comany, are now preparing to form a settlement at the Muscle Shoals on the Tenessee River, as you will perceive by Paper No. 3[69] - this project will not I apprehend, affect either your Jurisdiction or Policy; and it remains very doubtful, whether it will be accomplished or not, as the Parties concerned have neither property nor Personal Influence: You will also find in No. 3 an *invitation* to form a Settlement at the Chickasaw Bluffs, at a remote Day - It is Natural that these various Projects should in some degree distract the Views, & arrest the progress of many Who had determined to emigrate to Louisiana, the Novelty will now I flatter myself, soon be dissipated, the People will I trust soon be undeceived, and will again look forward to their true Interests, and embrace the generous Patronage offered by his Catholic Majesty -

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[67]Wilkinson wrote two letters to Miró on this date, both of which are printed in installment XVI of these "Papers" in *Publications*, No. 24, pp. 106-07, 108.

[68]O'Fallon to Miró, July 16, 1790, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, 357-64.

[69]The *Kentucky Gazette* of January 12, 1791, carried two advertisements offering 250 acres to single settlers and 500 to families that located at the Muscle Shoals.

Mr. Winter[70] is now actively engaged, preparing for his departure with his Family, & the necessary Mechanics & Materials, to Establish a Cordage Manufactory in New Orleans, & I have strong Confidence, you will find Him a useful & valuable Subject - The Cultivation & manufacture, of Hemp is I humbly conceive, a Matter of National as well as Provincial importance - several other Persons; have likewise applied to me, who will go down the ensuing Spring & shall be mentioned to your Excellency in due Season.- In No. 1 you have President Washingtons Speech to both Houses of Congress,[71] with their Answers, in these public testimonials, which may be considered as leading features of the Operations of the depending Session of the Congress, the claim of Kentucky to Independence, is recognized, in the most flattering terms - Yet is their one feature in the Answer from the house of Delegates, Which inclines me to think that our Petition will not be granted at this Session - The Expression is this, "and the *National Policy* Which ought to govern our decision"[72] It will I expect, be considered national Policy by the New England States, to keep Kentucky out of the Union, until some District of that Country, can likewise be erected into an Independent State, to counterballance the Southern Influence, which the admission of Kentucky, will give in the National Councils & deliberations: In the mean time we shall proceed, to elect a Convention in may next, which will meet in December following, to form a Constitution & Laws for our Government, and in the Month of May 1792,[73] we shall assume Independent Powers, Whether the Congress accede to our requisitions or not, and indeed it is a wish of the Majority of the People, that they may be rejected - The New England States particularly, & the Eastern States generally are jealous of our growing importance, & of consequence averse to our prosperity, But the President, under the powerful Bias of Interest & Ambition, thinks & Acts differently,- He owns immense Tracts of land bordering on the Waters of the Ohio,[74] and Knows well, that its Value depends totally on our population & prosperity; and it is his Ambition to strengthen & to connect in the strongest Bonds of union, the Empire of Which he reigns, under the Title of President, but with the Power of a Monarch - This Country daily acquires such Strength, that if the Most pointed regard, is not paid to its Interests, by the Congress, a Secession must unquestionably soon follow.-

The Expedition against the Savages, mentioned to you in my last, & of which I intended to take Command, was declined in consequence of an unusually rigorous Season, which rendered the Rivers impassable, and I expect the Subject will not be revived, until we hear what measures the Congress mean to Pursue, with the Savages, Should they refuse to proceed in Offensive Operations, a Flame will be Kindled in this Country, Which they will not be able to extinguish, & Which must operate powerfully in favor of our Views & designs.-

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[70]Probably Elisha Winters, who had taken a 6500 lb. cargo of hemp from Kentucky to New Orleans the year before. See Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, 353.

[71]Washington to both houses of Congress, December 8, 1790. Wilkinson probably sent a copy of it as printed in *Kentucky Gazette*, January 29, 1791.

[72]Quoted from Washington's message of December 11, 1790.

[73]The delegates met in April of 1792 and made a constitution to take effect on June 1.

[74]Reference here is probably to the 10,990 tract Washington obtained on December 15, 1772, with land warrants for his services in the French and Indian War. It was located near the junction of the Kanawha and the Ohio.

The Idea of the War with Britain is again revived in this Country, & you will find by the Papers in No. 4[75] that we have New Orleans taken long ago: It is difficult to say how this affair may eventuate, but I am persuaded a War is the Object of great Britain, if She can bring it forward on such principles, as will justify Her Conduct to the Powers of Europe, & secure Her Allies; I am informed from high Authority, that a secret Negotiation, is now in agitation, between that Court, & (Washington) but no particulars have transpired

I cannot close this Letter without expressing to you, the inquietude I feel from the long Silence of the Ministry on the Subject of my representation of 1789[76] - Whilst I am consuming my Whole time, & much of my property, and neglect every other object, to promote the Interests of Spain, Justice certainly will decree that I should be rewarded, but if my Services are considered futile, unimportant & useless, I should be told so, & be liberated from the Duties Which have employed me near four Years, in Order that I may direct my Views to other Objects, for the preservation & Emolument of my Family - Nevertheless, I beg you to rest assured of my continued Zeal unblemished Honor, And that I am with the most profound respect. . .

James Wilkinson

His Excellency
Govr. Miro

Washington has placed a Governor in Miro District,[77] who will probably examine all the Papers, which are brought up from Louisiana, You must therefore write to me invariably in Cypher, & I pray you to give the same caution to Mr. Gayoso.-

BLOUNT TO GAYOSO, SOUTHWESTERN TERRITORY, MARCH 8, 1791[78]

Territory of the United States of America South of the River Ohio. March 8th 1791.

Sir,

I beg leave to make known to you the Bearer Elijah Robertson Lieutenant Colonel of the County of Davidson - He visits West Florida in pursuit of a person whose security he has been for the payment of a large sum of money, and which he is liable to pay to his great injury.[79] If I were not well assured of the readiness with which your Excellency has ever caused justice to be administered to all men without obstruction I should take the liberty to beg your particular attention to Col. Robertson's Case. . . .

Wm. Blount

His Excellency Governor Gayoso - Natchez.

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[75]Apparently a reference to an article in the *Kentucky Gazette* of January 1, 1791, which began "It is currently reported in Town on Friday that the British had taken New Orleans. . . ."

[76]Wilkinson to Miró, September 17, 1788. For a summary see Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior*, 96-97. The letter is printed in W. R. Shepherd, "Papers Bearing on James Wilkinson's Relations with Spain," *American Historical Review* (New York), XVIII (1912-13), 751-64.

[77]William Blount was governor of the Southwest Territory of which the Mero district was only a small part.

[78]A.G.I., P.C., 204.

[79]See Robertson to Carondelet, May 25, 1792, on this subject in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, 39-41. The person sought was Eusebius Bushnell.

WILKINSON TO MIRO', FRANKFORT, MARCH 17, 1791[a]

Frankfort on Kentucky
March 17th. 1791

Sir

I avail myself of the opportunity, by the Bearer, Mr. Hugh McIlvain,[b] to explain to your Excellency, some Circumstances respecting the South Carolina Yasou Company & their meditated Settlement at the Walnut Hills, which from motives of caution, I have heretofore mentioned in general terms only.

You have seen the first plan of that Company, projected under the superintendency of Col: Holder, and you have seen them diverted from the prosecution of that plan, by my Letter of the 4th. of January 1790[c] a Copy of which I transmited to you last Winter: In consequence of that Letter, the Company appointed an Agent, Doctr. James O'Fallon, to proceed thro. this District, directly to your Excellency, to adjust with you, the preliminaries necessary to the foundation of the Colony, & the Doctor accordingly came forward to this Country, near one Year since, charged with Credentials to me from Mr. Moultrie Director of the Company, a Copy of which I forward to you by Mr. Nolan:[d] This Agent in explaining to me the Objects of his Mission, professed the most inviolable attachment to the Interests of Spain, & assured me of his intention to proceed without delay to your Excellency, by whose inclinations & opinions, he should be implicitly governed: giving full credit to his assurances, I did every thing in my power, to advance his Views, & to confirm Him in the principles he professed; at the same time however I took the precaution, to induce Him to Write to you, in the Language he had Spoken to me: I reflected that oral communications made in Confidence, might be denied, but that "Litera scripta manet" and I considered such a Letter, might be held as an hostage for his fidelity & good Conduct - in this calculation I have been deceived. -

The Doctor procrastinated his departure for New Orleans, from Week to Week, & Month to Month, under the pretense of waiting for Funds, to support the Expences of his Voyage, but continued uniform in his Conduct & Sentiments, until about the close of the Month of October, when to my great surprise I received from Him the inclosed Note; he had been, for some time previous to this, actively engaged in raising a Regiment of Armed Colonists, which he informed me was to follow Him so soon as he had adjusted matters with you, and which was to be employed to support his

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[a] A.G.I., P.C., 2374. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, p. xxviii, note 95, refers to a copy in A.G.I., Estado, Santo Domingo, legajo 9. Wilkinson forwarded this letter to Miró with another concerning O'Fallon. It was dated March 19, 1791, and is found in *ibid.*

[b] McIlvain (or McIlvaine) ostensibly went with a cargo of tobacco on his own account. This was really Wilkinson's property; the General was trying to circumvent Miró's request that he send no more tobacco to New Orleans because the market was flooded. Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior*, 106-07.

[c] Wilkinson to Moultrie *et al.*, January 4, 1790, printed in installment XIV of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 22 (1950), 128-30.

[d] [illegible] Nolan carried this along with Wilkinson to Miró, May 24, 1790, printed in installment XV of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 24 (1951), 86-88. He seems also to have taken at the same time O'Fallon to Miró, May 18, 1790. This one is printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, 341-42. See also *id.* to *id.*, July 16, 1790, in *ibid.*, 357-64.

Settlement, against any attempt of the President General might make to break it up, to repulse any Garrison He might attempt to post in that Settlement, or eventually to assist Spain against any Enemy that might attack Her. this Arrangement, which I highly disapproved, had excited in my Breast some jealousy of his Candor. His extraordinary Note, increased that Jealousy, & induced me to doubt his Sincerity: thus alarmed I immediately employed emissaries to develop, his real intentions, and I soon discovered from one of his principal officers, that the specific object of the Regiment, was to take forceable possession, at the Walnut Hills, which the Doctor expected you would not venture to oppose, whilst the War impended with Britain, for fear of placing yourself, between two Fires: incensed as I was, at this violation of Faith & Honor, I preserved my Temper, & concealed my indignation, but all doubt being now removed, I determined to oppose, & if possible to destroy his nefarious designs.-

I had received a letter from Mr. Moultrie, the Director, early in October, which you will find enclosed, and had answered it in the most flattering terms,[84] assuring Him of my readiness, to cooperate with the Doctor, & to forward the Enterprise by every consistent means in my Power, but having now resolved to abandon the project altogether, I wrote Him a second Letter of which the inclosed is a Copy: and immediately exerted all my own influence & that of my Friends, "sub rosa" to disband the Corps which he had levied, and in consequence, all his best officers have resigned, & the privates following their example, have deserted his Service, out of 500 Men whom He had enrolled, I can boldly pronounce that there are not 50 who will now obey his orders, or follow his Fortunes, I determined however not to rest my opposition here, it was necessary to strike the radical Stroke in Charles Town.-

O'Fallon to equip & subsist his Regt. & his Colonists, had made large Contracts, with the Merchants of this Country, for Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing & Provisions, for which he engaged payment, by Bills on his Constitutents in Charles Town - to continue to get these Bills protested, was the Object I had in View; the task was difficult, & the issue uncertain, but I determined to make the attempt - for the purpose I engaged a confidential Friend, Capt. Manning,[85] resident in South Carolina, but then on a visit to this Country, to go to Charles Town - I knew that the Company was dissatisfyed, with the Doctors long delay in this District, His Vanity & ostentation had moreover induced Him, to expend a considerable Sum in Superfluous Cloathing & Gewgaws immediately after his arrival here, which had created disgust, and all his Contracts from his ignorance in Mercantile Business, were extremely disadvantageous to his Constituents - possessed of these Facts, my Friend was instructed to insinuate to the Company, thro. an indirect Channel, that the Doctor had thrown away their Money for trifles, that all his Contracts were upon the most extravagant Scale, & calculated rather for the advantage of those, with whom he contracted, than for the Interest of the Company,- that his plans, were without consistency, & his execution dilatory, & languid, that his Colonists had deserted Him, & the

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[84]Moultrie to Wilkinson, September 5, 1790, is in A.G.I., P.C., 2374. A copy of Wilkinson's reply to Moultrie, November 4, 1790, is in A.G.I., Estado de Santo Domingo, legajo 9. See citation in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, II, xxviii, note 98.

[85]Captain Manning has not been identified.

whole fabric of their high hopes & expectations were ready to tumble to pieces - my Friend executed the trust reposed in him with address, & in consequence, one of the Doctors Bills has actually been protested - this has struck so deeply at his Credit, & that of the Company, that the Merchants have refused to deliver the Articles they contracted to furnish, until they receive satisfactory advice of the payment of his Bills, which have been sent forward & are now depending to a considerable Amount,- in this situation are things at present, whilst every thing, to the Doctr. depends upon the fate of these Bills, & this must be determined in a few days, should one more Bill be protested, & of this I can have no doubt, as all his drafts are on the same Gentleman who protested the last, the Clemency of his Creditors only, can Keep Him from Jail - But should I be disappointed, & his Bills are paid contrary to all expectation, it will restore the Credit of the Company, & may enable the Doctor to go down in the course of the Spring, with a few Families, but this is not my opinion, for He has been detected in so many glaring falsehoods, that no Man of reflection, will place the smallest reliance in his Word, & as he is a stranger here, his example can have no influence on the poor & the ignorant - upon the whole, taking every Circumstance into View, I am of opinion, that this mighty project, will soon die a natural Death, & expire without a Convulsion - in the mean time, the *Agent General,* to comfort Himself under every disappointment which may ensue, at the age of 50 has very recently married a Young Girl[86] of 15, and he thus gives an additional proof of his circumspection & good Sense.-

I shall continue as I have done heretofore, to watch the progress of this Business, & shall give you seasonable advice of any interesting turn it may take; Should the Doctor be ousted by his Constituents, which I expect will happen, I shall immediately endeavour to discover their real principles, & if I find them reconcileable to our Views, I shall endeavor to rekindle the dying Spark, & blow it into a flame.-

If my Services on this occasion meet with approbation, it is the Reward I Court; But I must intreat & do expect, that my Conduct & my communications, will be held in the most sacred Confidence, as the exposition of them, might expose me to persecution & abuse.-

Before I close this Letter I must beg leave to correct an Error, in that of the 14th. ultmo [87] - The Convention to form the Constitution for the State of Kentucky, is to be elected in December next, and the Legislature of the New State is to Assemble in June following - I congratulate You on the accommodation which has taken place with great Britain, so much to the Honor of the Crown of Spain.[88] With the highest respect I have the honor to be, Sir. . . .

James Wilkinson

His Excellency
Brigr. General Miro

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[86]Frances Eleanor Clark. See note 20, above.

[87]Printed above.

[88]Since Spain apologized and paid damages for the seizure of vessels in Nootka Sound it is difficult to see wherein came the "Honor to the Crown."

SOME FOUNDERS OF CAMPBELL'S STATION, TENNESSEE: A GENEAOLOGY OF ALEXANDER, DAVID, AND JAMES CAMPBELL

Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell

Alexander, David, and James Campbell, brothers, were among that great number of liberty-loving men who had as their objective the establishment of an independent government for themselves and their descendants. They aided in gaining the independence of America and, with their wives, struggled to found institutions—homes, schools, churches—that would assure perpetuation of a free country. This history of three frontiersmen and their courageous wives is typical of the lives of many of the early inhabitants of East Tennessee.

Their origin as far back as is known begins with (1) Alexander Campbell, of Inverary, Argylshire, Scotland. His son, (2) William Campbell, married Mary Byers and removed to the north of Ireland, near Londonderry, Ulster District. After seven of their eight children were born, they sailed to America and, finally, settled in Augusta County, Virginia.[1] Distant relatives, John Campbell and members of his family, already had established a home in that county.

The children of (2) William and Mary (Byers) Campbell were: (3) David, father of Captain David Campbell, founder of Campbell's Station; Elizabeth; Martha, wife of William Ellison; Alexander, who lived in Kentucky; *Robert;* Jane; William, father of Major William Campbell, of Nashville, Tennessee; and Mary, wife of Major John Steele.[2]

(3) Robert Campbell (1718?-Apr. 1786), son of (2) William and Mary (Byers) Campbell, was born in Ireland and died in North Carolina. He served his new country during the colonial period as did other men of the same name. His three sons were: (4) Alexander, David, and James, who were born in Augusta County, Virginia. The family lived, also, for some time in Washington County, Virginia; then, about 1779, it removed to Washington County, North Carolina (later Tennessee). Robert died in the latter county in 1786. James Rodgers, who afterward settled in Knox County, Tennessee, was administrator of his estate.[3]

The three brothers, Alexander, David, and James, took part in the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, in the regiment of Colonel John Sevier under the overall command of General William Campbell.[4]

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[1]Margaret C. Pilcher, *Historical Sketches of the Campbell, Pilcher and Kindred Families* (Nashville, 1911), 130, 134 (hereafter cited Pilcher); *The Lookout* (Chattanooga, ed. by Zella Armstrong), July 3, 1936. The figures within parentheses in front of the names denote generations.

[2]Pilcher, 134-35. (3)David Campbell was sometimes called "Black" David.

[3]Historical Records Survey, Tennessee, Washington County, Tennessee, Inventories of Estates, 1779-1821 (typewritten copy, W.P.A.), 352-54. There are so many Roberts this may be incorrect!

[4]Daughters of the American Revolution, N. C., *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* (Durham, 1932), 326.

When, in 1783, the county of Greene was erected from a part of Washington County, they became citizens of the new county. Captain David Campbell, their cousin, who also served in the Battle of King's Mountain, had removed with his family the year before and was at this time in Greene County.[5]

The State of Franklin began operations in 1784 and, on May 31, 1785, made the Dumplin Creek Treaty with the Cherokees. It was agreed by the Indians that "lands on the south side of Holston and French Broad Rivers to the waters of [Little] Tennessee may be . . . resided on."[6] Following this treaty there was a rush of settlers down these rivers. Later the same year James White "pitched his tent four miles above the mouth of French Broad River on the north bank."[7] The following year he moved farther down and established a fort on the north bank of the Holston (now Tennessee) River where Knoxville was founded October 3, 1791. This movement on the part of James White encouraged others to venture yet farther west on the Holston.

The next year, in March, 1787, Captain David Campbell, with Archibald McCaleb, Alexander and "Elder" David Campbell, and Jonathan Douglass —all from Greene County with their families—arrived fifteen miles below White's Fort and located about two miles north of the Holston (now Tennessee) River on Turkey Creek in the beautiful and fertile Grassy Valley.[8] There was at that place a good spring of "swiftly flowing water." It was not a great distance from the Cherokee towns on the Little Tennessee River, then known as the Tennessee. Captain David Campbell had married Margaret Campbell, sister of Judge David Campbell. Alexander and "Elder" David Campbell had married nieces of Margaret Campbell—the Lockhart sisters.[9]

The wives and children were taken on horseback, their equipment (woodworking tools, agricultural implements, cooking and household utensils, seeds, etc.) on pack horses. With loaded rifles in hand, the men kept a sharp lookout for lurking enemies as many of the red men were opposed to the recent treaty. The horses traveled single file along the narrow trail and had to be guided lest they wander off on the side and displace their loads among the trees.

The men felled trees, built cabins, cleared some ground, and planted corn. Thus Campbell's Station was founded under the leadership of Captain (afterward Colonel) David Campbell.[10] These rifle-bearing pioneers kept their guns near while working in the field, for unseen and unheard foes

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[5]Louise W. Reynolds (comp.), "Tax List of Greene County, Tennessee, 1783," in *The Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (Washington), LIII (April 1919), 196-203. At that time it was North Carolina.

[6]John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, 1938), 243. In the early days the Holston River was known as such to the junction with the Tennessee, now known as the Little Tennessee.

[7]J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee...* (Philadelphia, 1853), 372.

[8]David Campbell to ?, July 4, 1829, Draper MSS., 16DD56 (photostat in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, from originals in Wisconsin Historical Society Library, Madison). Hereafter cited David Campbell Letter.

[9]Pilcher, 33-34, 132, 134. Mrs. Pilcher designates this *David Campbell* as "Elder" David to distinguish him from others of the same name. He was an *elder* in the Presbyterian church at Campbell's Station.

[10]David Campbell Letter; Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country* (Knoxville, 1946), 329-33. The sketch of Campbell's Station is by Nannie Lee Hicks.

might rush upon them from the woods or canebrakes. One day only three of the men were at the place working in a field in sight of the cabins when two guns were fired at them from behind a small ridge. They did not go after the Indians but went to the houses to protect the women and children. The very next day all of their fourteen horses were taken away. A half-breed Indian friend, George Fields, and his stepfather, John Martin, came to the cabins to report that the horses thieves, about twenty in number, were seen when they were eight miles away.[11]

It was then discovered that a number of Indians had hidden on the opposite side of the cabins from the corn field. When these occurrences became known, Captain John Beard, with a company of militiamen, came from the country above Campbell's Station to drive off any Indians found in that vicinity. In any event, it was planned to move the families to Amos Byrd's Station about six miles east on the Holston (Tennessee). Captain Beard and his men took the families to the river and they were taken by the Station men up the river in canoes to Byrd's.[12]

The five men would go back and forth to the Station to work their crops and they went on foot several times to the town of Chota in the Indian Nation in an attempt to get their horses back. They offered a reward if the Cherokees would make a search for the stolen horses but without success. The red men would say that the Creeks took the horses. Late in the autumn the families were moved back to their own station. The crops were gathered and some horses procured to work and to take their corn to mill. At this time they had only fifteen miles to travel to White's tub mill while, at first, they had to go fifteen miles above White's Fort. During the winter preparations for growing larger crops were made.[13]

In the early spring, it must have been, the inhabitants of the Station were joined by James Campbell and Robert Blackburn (father of the Reverend Gideon Blackburn) with their families and, also, by Joseph Taylor, who later married a daughter of Robert Blackburn.[14] These settlers then had a good prospect of clearing more ground and of carrying on farming operations in a successful way when a report was brought, in May, 1788, that the family of John Kirk had been killed by a band of Indians led by Chiefs Slim Tom and Red Bird, of Chilhowie. The Kirk farm was about nine miles from the Cherokee town of Chota.[15]

Much excitement was aroused. A number of men from above White's Fort marched to Campbell's Station and insisted that the men there join them in an attack on an Indian town. Captain Campbell cautioned them that such action might bring on an open war. However, those men could not be persuaded to abandon revenge but were so determined that the Captain and some of the men accompanied them to the town of Coyatee. However, the Indian warriors had fled upon learning of the approach of the white men. Two or three Indians were killed, but the family of Susanna

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[11]David Campbell Letter.

[12]*Ibid.*; C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States IV, The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 590. Amos Byrd (Bird) was a Revolutionary soldier; served in the militia of the Territory; built a fort on the Holston, 1787.

[13]David Campbell Letter.

[14]Pilcher, 93.

[15]Ramsey, *Annals*, 419-20; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 272.

Martin was not injured as she had been a longtime friend of the white people.[16]

As preparations for war against the Cherokees were being made, the people at Campbell's Station were ordered by the general of the brigade to join White's Fort. Thus the families were moved the second time.[17] The Chickamaugas (Cherokees of the Lower Towns, along the Tennessee near Chattanooga) were stealing horses and committing other crimes, so Brigadier General Joseph Martin led an expedition against them. About five hundred militiamen, including the Campbell's Station men, assembled at White's Fort to join the campaign. There was a skirmish at the end of Lookout Mountain but, owing to the narrow and difficult trails with Indians stationed behind rocks and trees, the battle had to be given up.[18]

Upon the return of the men to White's Fort, preparations by Captain Campbell's men were made to make the journey to their Station. This time they took permanent possession. Soon the fort was made stronger. The families would move out to their plantations but, whenever danger of Indian uprisings was reported, they would seek safety by returning to the Station. It was nearly nine years before they could safely settle without constant fear of losing their scalps.[19]

I.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

(4) Alexander Campbell (1761-Sept. 7, 1816), son of (3) Robert Campbell, was born in Augusta County, Virginia; died in Knox County, Tennessee. It already has been stated that he was a soldier at the Battle of King's Mountain. He served, also, at the Battle of Guilford Court House, 1781.[20] In 1782 he married Mary Lockhart (Mar. 12, 1766-Mar. 12, 1842), daughter of William and Mary (Campbell) Lockhart and granddaughter of "White" David Campbell and wife, Mary Hamilton. They had two children when they went to Campbell's Station in 1787. Alexander selected a site for his home on the north bank of the French Broad River; twice, upon being threatened by the enemy, he moved his family back to the Station and then changed his location on that river. About the time of the establishment of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, with William Blount as governor, he was living in a cabin on the site of James White's stop over in 1785. There his twin sons became ill and died; they were buried on that place. Some of Alexander's descendants live there at present. Cherokees annoyed the parents by coming near the house imitating the cries of the two infants, and then shooting arrows into the logs, or chinking, of the cabin.[21]

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[16]David Campbell Letter; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and their Legends and Folklore* (Oklahoma City, 1921), 304-06, 467; Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 66. Susannah Emory was the granddaughter of Ludovic Grant, a trader out of Charleston, S. C. She had been the wife of John Stuart; had a son, Bushyhead. Later she was the wife of Richard Fields and was the mother of George and Lucy Fields. John Martin was her third husband.

[17]David Campbell Letter.

[18]*Ibid.;* Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 282-84.

[19]David Campbell Letter.

[20]J. G. M. Ramsey, *History of Lebanon Presbyterian Church* ([written 1875] [Knoxville], 1918), 15.

[21]Information from John A. Campbell, Hope Hull, Ala.

In 1793 the Indians became extremely active and vindictive—stealing horses, burning homes, and killing and scalping settlers in widely scattered parts of Blount, Knox, Sevier, and other counties. The house of Robert Blackburn, two or three miles from Campbell's Station, was burned and his plantation "laid waste."[22] Thomas Gilliam (brother of Devereux Gilliam, who was settled at the confluence of the French Broad and Holston rivers) and his son, James, were killed and scalped by Indians about sixteen miles north of Knoxville. Two war clubs were left beside the bodies.[23] Isolated families sought refuge in the stations or forts. Alexander again took his family to Campbell's Station. After the intended attack by the Cherokees upon Knoxville failed and the Indians were defeated at Etowah, Georgia, Alexander made his permanent seat on the north side of French Broad River at what is now Riverdale Community. The settlers between the Holston and French Broad rivers were free from disastrous incursions by the red men, but the fear of Indian raids from the south of French Broad was ever present. Whenever her husband was away at night Mary Lockhart Campbell would take her children into the canebrake, or a hollow in the woods, to hide from Indians. If a child should cry she would move to another place. The nearest neighbor was more than a mile away.[24]

During the years of the existence of the territorial government, Alexander Campbell was often a member of the jury and was called away from home at intervals to serve in the militia. After the state of Tennessee was admitted into the Union, Governor John Sevier commissioned him captain of a Knox County company of militia, October 10, 1796.[25] He and his wife were members of the Lebanon-in-the-Fork Presbyterian Church, organized by the Reverend Samuel Carrick in 1791.[26] A number of his descendants have been members of that church. He acquired a large plantation of fertile land, raised livestock, and erected a commodious house for his large family. His youngest child was born in 1806.

On September 7, 1816, he died at a comparatively early age. Three sons and seven daughters survived him. His widow died in 1842. As he left no will, his son, William, became administrator of his estate. An inventory of his movable estate shows what economic operations were in progress on a large plantation in that early time. Included in the long list of commodities are a secretary, books, one Negro man, and a bond on Stockley Donelson for eight hundred acres of land, dated June 18, 1792, with the notation, ". . . the estate of Donelson is insolvent and nothing can be had."[27] Alexander, his wife, his son, William, and family were buried on a part of his farm later owned by Benjamin McNutt. A grandson, T. R. C. Campbell, erected a monument at the graves.[28]

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[22]Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers, IV*, 252, 280-82.

[23]Brown, *Old Frontiers*, 387.

[24]Information from the late T. R. C. Campbell, of Riverdale, Knox County, Tennessee.

[25]Mrs. John T. Moore (comp.), *Record of Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1796-1811* (Nashville, 1947), 21.

[26]Information from T. R. C. Campbell; Ramsey, *Lebanon Presbyterian Church*, 3-4, 15-16.

[27]Knox County, Tenn. Estate Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 2 (January Sess., 1817), 287.

[28]Information from John A. Campbell.

The children of Captain Alexander Campbell and wife, Mary Lockhart, with exception of twin sons who died in infancy, were: (5) Margaret, William, Mary, Jane, Elizabeth, James, Ann, Cynthia, John, and Harriet.

MARGARET CAMPBELL DOWLER McCAMPBELL

(5) Margaret (Peggy) Campbell (b. 1783), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was about four years of age when she was taken to Campbell's Station by her parents. She grew up on the frontier where Indian alarms were dreaded. She was married, first, in 1806, to William Dowler, who died in 1814. They had three daughters. (6) Sarah Dowler (b. 1807) married, February 14, 1828, Samuel Pickle, of Asbury; and their only daughter, (7) Emeline, died when about grown. (6) Mary Campbell Dowler (b. 1809) married John Brannum. (6) Louisa Dowler married Harvey McBee.[29]

(5) Margaret (Peggy) Dowler married, second, November 28, 1915, Solomon McCampbell, a widower who had eight children, some of whom removed to Texas. He was a Revolutionary soldier in Virginia; removed to the State of Franklin, 1787; lived in Blount County and was commissioned lieutenant of militia in 1800; removed to Knox County in Beaver Creek Valley; received a Revolutionary pension in Knox County; died in Alabama in 1845, survived by his third wife.[30] His son, by his second wife, Jack McCampbell, died young.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL

(5) William Campbell (Oct. 29, 1785-Feb. 15, 1828), eldest son of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was born in Greene County, North Carolina (later, Tennessee); died in Knox County, Tennessee. He was only a year and four months old when his parents took him and his sister to the Grassy Valley settlement and, some years later, to the north side of the French Broad River. There his mother frequently would hide him and the other children from Indian foes. William admired the captain's uniform that his father wore as captain of a company of mounted infantry. His father gave him a farm, probably after he married, July 20, 1815, Elizabeth (Betsy) Goddard (June 6, 1792-May 11, 1864), daughter of Hugh and Mary (Avis) Goddard. William was administrator of his father's estate in 1816. When William died his eight children were named in his will, dated January 2, 1828, and probated April 7, 1828. His plantation was willed to his three sons to be divided when his youngest son should become twenty-one years of age. The children were: (6) James *Monroe,* John, Mary (Polly), Jane, Margaret, Cynthia, Hugh G., and Harriet.[31]

(6) James *Monroe* Campbell, M.D. (Mar. 18, 1816-Jan. 21, 1877) was a physician; married, January 21, 1847, Margaret Joanna Gamble (Nov. 20, 1831-July 31, 1875). They had seven children, only three of whom lived to become adults: (7) Hugh Samuel, Luther Douglas, and Emma *Adelia.*

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[29]Knox County, Tenn. Marriage Records (Knox County Courthouse); Laura E. Luttrell (ed.), *United States Census 1850 for Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1951), 9, 96.

[30]Information from Miss May Wiley, Knoxville.

[31]Knox Co., Tenn. Estate Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 4 (April Sess., 1828), 289-90; Family Bible in possession of Mr. Lloyd R. Campbell, Knoxville, Tenn.

(7) Hugh Samuel Campbell (Nov. 20, 1847-Apr. 1865) was a Federal soldier in the Civil War; was drowned upon his return home when the ill-fated steamer, *Sultana*, was blown up and sank in the Mississippi River below Memphis, April 27, 1865. A number of East Tennessee men lost their lives in that disaster.

(7) Luther Douglas Campbell (Oct. 15, 1852-Sept. 12, 1927) was a dry goods merchant in Cleveland, Tennessee; also a director of the Cleveland National Bank. He married first, September 20, 1876, Maggie Lowry and they had a son, (8) James Luther Campbell (b. July 12, 1877), who was graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1903. In 1927 he was living in Georgia.[32] The second wife of L. D. Campbell was Lavinia Henegar, sister of Edward Henegar, of Knoxville. She died January 24, 1845, at the age of eighty years.

(7) Emma *Adelia* Campbell (b. July 16, 1865) married November 14, 1895, Horace Tipton and lived at Cleveland, Tennessee. They had two sons: (8) Sharon Campbell Tipton (b. Oct. 15, 1896) and (8) Douglas Monroe Tipton (b. Dec. 20, 1901).

(6) John (Jack) Campbell (b. Nov. 7, 1817), second son of William and Betsy Campbell, married Martha Anderson. They had a son, (7) William, and a daughter, (7) Martha Jane, who lived in Missouri.

(6) Mary (Polly) Campbell (Mar. 19, 1819-May 15, 1841) married, August 24, 1837, Andrew Anderson Henderson (May 14, 1817-Sept. 1847) and lived at Dandridge, Tennessee. Their sons were: (7) John Henderson (1838-1841) and (7) William A. C. Henderson (May 15, 1841-Oct. 1863), who lived in Kentucky; was killed during the Civil War in Nashville, Tennessee.

(6) Jane Campbell (Nov. 13, 1820-Mar. 10, 1881) married, May 10, 1858, a widower, Samuel Hannibal Love (Jan. 20, 1808-Aug. 21, 1897). They lived on Rutledge Pike at Love's Creek; buried in Spring Place Cemetery, Knox County.[33]

(6) Margaret Emeline Campbell (Apr. 18, 1822-Oct. 15, 1878) was not married.

(6) Cynthia Ann Campbell (Mar. 2, 1824-Nov. 7, 1883) married, November 23, 1843, John (Jack) D. Armstrong. They were married by John Campbell, justice of the peace. Their daughter, (7) Delia Armstrong, married Beecher Doak.

(6) Hugh Goddard Campbell (Feb. 4, 1826-Oct. 12, 1892) was the third son of William and Betsy (Goddard) Campbell. He was born and died in Knox County at Riverdale; was a prosperous farmer; married, November 6, 1856, Sophia Jane Doak (1832-Aug. 7, 1918) who was the great granddaughter of Archibald Alexander. His three children were: (7) Samuel Monroe, Margaret E., and Charles A. In H. G. Campbell's will, dated November 5, 1891, he bequeathed to his son, Samuel M., the farm in the seventh civil district of Knox County known as the "Home Place"; to his other son, Charles A., the farm in the twenty-second civil district that was

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[32]Obituary of L. D. Campbell, Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, September 13, 1927.

[33]Love Family Bible (in possession of Mrs. Walter Love, 125 Kirkwood Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee).

purchased of John D. Wrinkle and wife. His sons were appointed executors.[34]

(7) Samuel Monroe Campbell (May 8, 1861-Feb. 7, 1915) lived on the "Home Place" left to him by his father, the same location where James White "pitched his tent" in 1785. He married, May 18, 1882, Annie Eliza Kennedy (1865-Aug. 16, 1947), daughter of James and Martha (Armstrong) Kennedy. Her father established the New Salem Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (the so-called Seceder church) at Riverdale. However, after a few years there were not enough members to sustain it. Mrs. Annie K. Campbell, a devoted church member and student of the Bible, read the New Testament trough thirteen times. Their two sons are: (8) Hugh Kennedy Campbell (b. Apr. 1, 1883), a bachelor, and (8) Lloyd Roscoe Campbell (b. Apr. 21, 1895) who married Estelle Pierce, daughter of Rennie and Dora (Jones) Pierce. They have four daughters: Mildred, Margaret, who married William P. Armstrong; Marie, who married Ernest Weileman; and Dorothy, who married James Spruiell.

(7) Charles Alexander Campbell (Jan. 22, 1867-Feb. 16, 1902) married Eulah Keener (d. Oct. 10, 1920).

(7) Margaret Campbell (Mar. 20, 1870-Oct. 9, 1891) married John Caldwell, of Strawberry Plains. After her death John Caldwell married Stella Snoddy.

(6) Harriet Campbell, youngest child of William and Betsy (Goddard) Campbell, was born December 15, 1827.

MARY CAMPBELL HUNTER

(5) Mary (Polly) Campbell (d. before 1850), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, married April 29, 1806, John Hunter, of Virginia. They had three sons. (6) Campbell Hunter (b. 1811-d. after 1850) had a good education but engaged in a duel that affected his mind—so it is said. In 1850 he was living at the home of Thomas and Cynthia (Campbell) Rodgers a few miles from Knoxville.[35] (6) Lockhart Hunter served in the Texas War for Independence in Colonel Bold's regiment in General Sam Houston's army, and was captured by the Mexicans, but managed to escape. He became a lawyer in Texas; married and had a family in western Texas. (6) Alexander Hunter, the third son of John and Mary C. Hunter, lived in Texas.

JANE CAMPBELL GODDARD

(5) Jane Campbell (d. Nov. 5, 1830), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was skillful in weaving, fine sewing, and embroidery, as were all her sisters. She married, July 29, 1815, William Goddard (1788-Sept. 1836), son of Hugh and Mary (Avis) Goddard, of Virginia. William was commissioned captain of a company of men in the Tenth Tennessee Regiment on March 2, 1814.[36] In that year he purchased a farm on the north side of French Broad River that adjoined the lands of

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[34]Knox Co., Tenn. Will Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 2 (October Term, 1892), 283-84.

[35]Luttrell (ed.), *U. S. Census 1850 for Knox County, Tenn.*, 60.

[36]Mrs. J. T. Moore (comp.), "Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1814," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), IX (1950), 181.

Christian Pickle and Benjamin McNutt. As he still owed part of the purchase price of the land in 1815, he could not afford to buy a broad cloth suit for his wedding as he had planned. Therefore, he was married in a homespun suit and his bride did not wear the new silk dress she so skillfully had made but was dressed in keeping with the bridegroom's attire. After Jane's death in 1830, he took his six children to Alabama but afterward returned to Knox County, Tennessee, where he died in 1836. His brother-in-law, John Campbell, was administrator of the estate. The children were: (6) Harriet C., Elizabeth M., Mary Ann, Hugh A., Cynthia Jane, and John L. Goddard.

(6) Harriet C. Goddard (Nov. 22, 1817-May 3, 1851) was born in Knox County, Tennessee; died in Grimes County, Texas. She married, April 29, 1833, Henry H. Boggess. They removed to Benton County, Alabama, and from there, in 1840, to Grimes County, Texas. Harriet became a member of the Methodist church in 1849. Four of their children died before her death. Her husband and four sons who survived her were living at Anderson, Texas, in 1851.[37]

(6) Elizabeth M. Goddard (b. Jan. 1, 1820) married Charles Welborn and had two children, (7) William and Charlie (daughter) Welborn, both of whom married and had, each, several children.

(6) Mary Ann Goddard (Dec. 21, 1821-July 7, 1882), lived, after the death of both parents, at the home of her aunt, Mrs. Betsy Meek, and her husband, Daniel Meek, about a mile east of Strawberry Plains, Jefferson County, Tennessee. She became a member of the Shunem, or Strawberry Plains Presbyterian Church that was founded by the Reverend Samuel Carrick the same year that Lebanon Presbyterian Church in Knox County was organized. Mary Ann was married, September 6, 1838, to Gaines McMillan (Mar. 14, 1815-Jan. 21, 1897), son of John and Jane (Meek) McMillan. He was major of the Tenth Regiment of Tennessee. Their children were: (7) Elizabeth (Bettie) Jane, Harriet Rebecca, Daniel Meek, Nancy Josephine, Cynthia Alice, Margaret Evaline, Anna Gaines, and John William.

(7) Elizabeth (Bettie) Jane McMillan (June 20, 1839-Aug. 10, 1886), eldest daughter of Gaines and Mary Ann (Goddard) McMillan, married, September 21, 1859, John M. Meek. They lived in Jefferson County on a farm that had been owned by Daniel Meek.[38] They gave it the name, "Fancy Meadows." The members of this family belonged to the Shunem, or Strawberry Plains Presbyterian Church. John Meek's grandfather, Adam Meek, a Revolutionary soldier, and his wife, Martha (Wallace) Meek, are buried in the cemetery at Strawberry Plains. John M. and Bettie (McMillan) Meek had ten children (8) Horace M. Meek (1860-1872) died at an early age. (8) Alexander Kennedy Meek lived in Washington, D. C., and married Miss Fannie Hayden. Their daughter, Dr. Lois Meek, lives in that city. (8) John Lamar Meek, a graduate of the University of Tennessee, was an official of the Southern Railway, lived in Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Knoxville; married Mary Miller Fleming.[39] Their son, John Fleming Meek,

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[37]Obituary by A. B. F. Kerr in an Anderson, Texas, newspaper, of May 5, 1851.

[38]Will of Daniel Meek, April 10, 1855, with codicil, June 29, 1859. Probated Oct. 1, 1860, in Jefferson County, Tenn. Wills (Jefferson County Courthouse, Dandridge).

[39]Biographical sketch of Mary Miller (Fleming) Meek in Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country*, 454-55.

is a lawyer. (8) Gaines McMillan Meek was a physician; lived in Ohio and married Cora Beckett. (8) Daniel White Meek lived in New York City—was not married. (8) Mary E. Meek married Eugene Holtsinger, of Dandridge, lives in Florida—has children and grandchildren. (8) Margaret and (8) Nellie B. Meek lived at "Fancy Meadows"—were not married. (8) Bertha Cowan Meek married Joseph *Brooks* Rogers and lived in Knoxville.

(7) Harriet Rebecca McMillan (b. Mar. 1842) married, December 23, 1868, Lemuel M. Dick, of New Market, Tennessee. They had one daughter, (8) Alice H. Dick, who married C. C. Spears and had two sons.

(7) Daniel Meek McMillan (Dec. 28, 1843-Feb. 10, 1907) was a soldier in the Union army, 1863-1865.[40] He married, August 15, 1877, Margaret A. Roberts and lived at Mascot, Tennessee. They had three children. (8) Henry Graham McMillan (b. June 14, 1878) has been a Knoxville insurance official for more than fifty years and has his own company. During World War I he received a commission as lieutenant in the Quartermaster Corps; was assigned to the fire prevention branch, Domestic Operations Division; and was on duty in Texas and other southern states.[41] He is a member of the Sons of the Revolution and of the First Presbyterian Church, Knoxville; married Louise Barbour, of Kentucky. (8) Kate Annette McMillan lives in Knoxville. (8) Robert M. McMillan (b. May 7, 1884) married Phoebe A. Park and had one son, Robert M. McMillan, Jr., who served in World War II as a lieutenant colonel.

(7) Nancy *Josephine* McMillan (July 26, 1846-Jan. 1918) married, October 7, 1873, Drury Payne Love and lived on a farm on Love's Creek, near Knoxville, Tennessee. They had four sons. (8) Bruce Eldon Love (b. Sept. 21, 1874) married and lives in Texas. (8) Gaines McMillan Love (b. Nov. 24, 1882) married Julia Brace Bartley in Missouri. (8) Fred Thompson Love (b. Sept. 7, 1884) married Josephine Carter of Mascot, Tennessee, and lives at Scranton, Pennsylvania. (8) Hugh Payne Love (d. Jan. 2, 1951) was married and had seven children; died in Little Rock, Arkansas.

(7) Cynthia *Alice* McMillan (Aug. 30, 1849-Jan. 23, 1939) married William H. Salmon, February 11, 1880. They lived in Knoxville and attended the Second Presbyterian Church. Their only daughter, (8) Mary Isabella Salmon, married Robert Moore Williamson, a meteorologist who was connected with the Weather Bureau Office in Nashville, Tennessee, for twenty-eight years; then became senior meteorologist at Indianapolis, Indiana; now retired and lives in Nashville.[42] They have two sons and one daughter, all married.

(7) Margaret Evaline McMillan (Dec. 12, 1852-June, 1928) married I. N. Mast and lived at Ottumwa, Iowa.

(7) Florence Roberta McMillan (Oct. 14, 1856-Mar. 19, 1928) was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church, Knoxville—was not married.

(7) Anna Gaines McMillan (Aug. 2, 1863-Mar. 24, 1950) was born at Mascot, Tennessee; died at Glendale, Ohio. She was educated at Oxford,

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[40]M. M. Harris (comp.), *Family History of Col. John Sawyers and Simon Harris and their Descendants* (Knoxville, 1913), 157.

[41]Knoxville Lithographing Co. (comp.), *Knox County in the World War, 1917-1919* (Knoxville, 1919), 226. Further reference is to the title; Knoxville *Journal*, March 9, 1950.

[42]Nashville Chamber of Commerce, *News Bulletin*, September, 1943, p. 4.

Ohio; married, first, June 18, 1884, George Keys Thompson (Oct. 4, 1855-Jan. 26, 1890). Their sons are: (8) Stuart McMillan Thompson (b. July 10, 1885, in Cincinnati), a captain in World War I with the A. E. F., who married Margaret Sterling Powell; (8) Samuel Joseph Thompson (b. Aug. 19, 1886, in Cincinnati), who married Elsa Van Ness; (8) Laurence Thompson (b. Aug. 21, 1888, in Cincinnati), who married Phyllis Smiley; and (8) George Keys Thompson, Jr. (b. Aug. 29, 1890, at Glendale, Ohio), who was a soldier in World War I and married Elizabeth St. John Jones;[43] Mrs. Anna G. M. Thompson married, second, Howard J. Johnston.

(7) John *William* McMillan (Mar. 29, 1868-Aug. 1, 1930), the youngest child of Gaines and Mary Ann (Goddard) McMillan, was born at Mascot, Tennessee; died in Baltimore, Maryland. He married Elizabeth Gorman, daughter of Senator Gorman. They had four children: (8) William J., Cora Lee, Gaines, and Ann Goddard McMillan.

(6) Hugh A. Goddard (b. Jan. 10, 1824), son of William and Jane (Campbell) Goddard, lived in Sweetwater Valley; married; had two children: (7) Willie Gaines and Missouri Adeline Goddard. He married a second time, Sarah Winters, and had two children, (7) John and Jane Goddard.

(6) Cynthia Jane Goddard (June 27, 1826-Aug. 11, 1900) was born at what is now Riverdale, Knox County; died in Knoxville. At the age of ten years she had lost, by death, both parents. Then she lived for some years at the home of her aunt, Mrs. Harriet Campbell Blackburn, in Jefferson County. When her sister, Mary Ann, married Gaines McMillan in 1838, she lived with them until January, 1845, at which time she was married by the Rev. Gideon Stebbins White, to James McMillan (June 9, 1824-Aug. 18, 1898), brother of Gaines. They rode five miles to attend the Strawberry Plains Presbyterian Church until the Caledonia Presbyterian Church was organized in their community in 1858. They were charter members and James was clerk of the session for many years; was a ruling elder until 1898 when his family moved to Knoxville.[44] They were buried in Woodlawn Cemetery. Their children were: (7) Mary Jane Lockhart, Nancy I., Harriet Elizabeth, John Goddard, Alice Ademla, Fanny F., James L. D., William M., Cynthia A., Sarah R., and Lucy Adele.

(7) Mary Jane Lockhart McMillan (Sept. 1845-Sept. 10, 1908), daughter of James and Cynthia Jane (Goddard) McMillan, was married, August 27, 1865, by the Rev. William H. Lyle, to James Madison Luttrell (Feb. 4, 1840-Mar. 31, 1905), son of James and Dicey Ann (Murphy) Luttrell. They lived in Knox County until they had three children, then removed to Strawberry Plains, Jefferson County, Tennessee. Their farm was nearly a mile from the village. Where it was not cultivated wild strawberries grew. When a Presbyterian church, U. S. was organized at that place, James M. and Mary Luttrell were charter members; the former was an elder in the church until the family moved to Knoxville. A memorial window, placed by the descendants of this couple, is in the new church edifice recently erected. James was one of three school commissioners of

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[43]Record of Stuart M. Thompson, Glendale, Ohio (1916).

[44]Caledonia Presbyterian Church Minutes, 1858-1898 (typed copy among papers of the writer to be bound and placed in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).

that district of the county. In Knoxville the family became members of the First Presbyterian Church. Their children: (8) Walter McMillan Luttrell, M.D., who received his medical education at George Washington University; (8) James Beecher, an engineer (tool designer); (8) Laura Elizabeth, librarian and the author of this paper; (8) Lucy Ademla, a civil service clerk, who died in 1936; (8) Cynthia *Albertine* (Mrs. H. L. Vance); Mary Iva (Mrs. Otho Atkin), who died in 1901; Anne Eliza (Mrs E. S. Maclin), who died in 1928; (8) William *Eugene,* clearing house manager, who married Mattie (Pat) Walling; (8) Ella, office secretary; (8) Beulah (wife of Dr. E. R. Bucklew, World War I surgeon); and (8) Kate Luttrell (wife of the Rev. H. A. McBath.

(7) Nancy *(Ann)* I. McMillan (Feb. 3, 1847-Jan. 4, 1891) was a member of Caledonia Presbyterian Church in Knox County. She married, November 26, 1868, Jonathan Sherrod (Nov. 12, 1844-July 19, 1888). They lived on a farm south of Knoxville. They had eight children. (8) Ella *Grace* married Henry Kidder and they were members of Graystone Presbyterian Church. (8) Robert died in early manhood. (8) James *Howard* married Birdie McMahan and lived at Dandridge. (8) Frank L. married Emma Kurth and their son, Robert Sherrod, is a graduate of the University of Tennessee and, in World War II was a lieutenant in the Air Force. (8) Edgar E. married Mary F. Mathewson. (8) Melinda married, first, James H. Long; second, Samuel L. Neal. (8) Elsie J. married J. P. Yadon. (8) Mary E. married Oscar Lee McClellan.

(7) Harriet E. *(Bettie)* McMillan (Dec. 29, 1848-May 16, 1918) married, March 11, 1869, Adam Bell Blake, Jr. (May 12, 1844-Feb. 1915). They lived on a farm on the Armstrong Ferry Road, now known as the Ruggles Ferry Road. Their sons and grandsons live on the land and are proprietors of Livona Dairy. They had twelve children. (8) John Rennie, a student at the University of Tennessee, died in 1891. (8) James McMillan Blake married Minnie Swan and had a daughter who is married. James died several years ago. (8) Belle Blake married James K. Vance and had three sons, R. Roy, Thomas, and Paul. (8) Harvey S. Blake married Beulah Ault. (8) Thomas A. Blake is a photographer; married Nora Vinson and has a son, Frederic. (8) Ruth Blake married Dr. Chalmers P. Kennedy. (8) Charles Heron Blake, a dry goods merchant, married Elizabeth McGhee; has a son, Edwin, who married Nora Grooms, and a daughter, Ruth E., who married William *Roger* Rusk. (8) Frank Goddard Blake married Margaret Ault. (8) Robert Rhea Blake was graduated from the University of Tennessee; married Cecelia Lay; their son, W. L. Blake, was a lieutenant in World War II. (8) Howard E. Blake married Dora O. White and lives in Spartanburg, S. C. (8) Luther Blake died in 1919. (8) John E. Blake (d. 1945) married Inez C. French and had four sons.

(7) John Goddard McMillan (Apr. 27, 1852-July 24, 1926) was a farmer and business man. He married, April 4, 1877, Laura Elizabeth Epps (Apr. 8, 1854-Dec. 31, 1899). They were members of the Methodist Church and lived at Coal Creek (now Lake City). Their children were: (8) Charles Herbert, who served in the army during the Spanish-American War, then taught in the government schools established in the Philippines, married Nina Johnson and lived in Atlanta, Georgia; (8) Nelle Maude, who married a Mr. Frazier; (8) Bruce G., who lived in Salisbury, N. C.; (8) Frank, who

lives at Lake City; and (8) Clarence, who lives in Knoxville.[45]

(7) Alice Ademla McMillan (Jan. 28, 1855-Aug. 31, 1882) was noted for her beauty and her devotion to the church at which she taught a Sunday School class. She married, September 12, 1876, the Rev. James Spencer Mills who had come from South Carolina to be pastor of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church founded by James Kennedy at Riverdale. After a few years the Rev. Mills accepted a call to a church in Kentucky; later removed to South Carolina. They had three children: Neva Isabell, who was born in Knox County, Tennessee, and married in South Carolina, Robert Edward Shannon; (8) Robert Brice, who married Nell Edwards and died at Statesville, N. C.; and (8) Lois Jane, who married Eugene W. Mobley.

(7) Fannie F. McMillan (Apr. 6, 1857-May 13, 1923) married, November 27, 1907, William Walker Pittillo—was his second wife. They are buried in the Macedonia Methodist Church Cemetery, Knoxville.

(7) James Leeper Davis McMillan (Sept. 18, 1859-Oct. 1, 1893) married, September 13, 1888, Sarah Rebecca Davis (Oct. 21, 1871-Nov. 12, 1912), of Knoxville. After his death, his widow was graduated from the National Institute of Pharmacy and became the first woman pharmacist in the city.[46] She was connected with the Kuhlman Drug Store. The graves of this couple are in Gray Cemetery. Their son, (8) Claude David McMillan (b. Nov. 5, 1889) is a lawyer; member of the Virginia state bar; a member of the Sons of the American Revolution; lives in Norfolk, Virginia. His wife of Mary Louise (Williams) McMillan, of Charlotte, N. C. They have two sons: (9) C. D. McMillan, Jr., and William Terrell McMillan.

(7) William Minnis McMillan (Dec. 12, 1861-Oct. 24, 1949), farmer, church elder, lived and died in the vicinity of the Caledonia Presbyterian Church, Knox County. He married, March 22, 1885, Mary Catherine Beall (Aug. 11, 1868-May 16, 1951). They had five children. (8) Brice served in World War I as a member of the 418 Motor Supply Train, and was active in two engagements as battalion sergeant major.[47] He is married to Rose Knaffl and lives in Florida. (8) Nelle is a business woman. (8) Cecile died 1927. (8) Clara E., a graduate of the University of Tennessee, died in Louisville, Kentucky. (8) James married Marie Andre.

(7) Cynthia Almeda McMillan (1864-1894), Sarah Rebecca McMillan (1866-1945), and Lucy Adele McMillan (1870-1906), were the youngest children of James and Cynthia (Goddard) McMillan.

ELIZABETH LOCKHART CAMBPELL MEEK

(5) Elizabeth (Betsy) Lockhart Campbell (Nov. 7, 1792-July 16, 1871), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was born in Knox County, Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, died at Strawberry Plains, Tennessee. She married, March 11, 1813, Daniel Meek (Mar. 20, 1792-Aug. 20, 1860), son of Adam and Martha (Wallace) Meek, of Jefferson County. They had no children but helped

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[45]Mary L. S. Johnson and Mae L. Treadwell (comp.), *Family of Edward Eppes of Knox County, Tennessee* ([Knoxville], 1951), 22-23.

[46]Obituary in Knoxville *Sentinel*, November 14, 1912.

[47]*Knox County in the World War*, 292.

to bring up an orphaned niece and aided several young men who were studying for the ministry. They paid the college expenses of Thomas Jefferson Lamar, a Jefferson County young man, who received a degree from Maryville College and, also, a degree from Union Theological Seminary.[48]

Their niece, Mary Ann Goddard, lived with them several years until she was married to Gaines McMillan. Daniel Meek willed a farm to her first child, Betsy J. McMillan; left a legacy to Maryville College, and provided funds for settling his slaves in Liberia if they were willing to go.[49] He was an elder in the Shunem Prsebyterian Church and wrote a brief history of the church. After the church building was destroyed during the Civil War, services were conducted in Mrs. Betsy Meek's mansion among spreading oak trees. There is a cemetery near the site of the home in which a number of the Meeks are interred.

JAMES CAMPBELL

(5) James Campbell (June 6, 1796-May 25, 1879), soldier, farmer, miller, was the son of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell. He was born in Knox County, just five days after the state of Tennessee was admitted into the Union. He lived upon part of the plantation settled by his father on the north side of the beautiful French Broad River, where today, there is a label reading "RIVERDALE COMMUNITY." It is on the Thorngrove Road. As a young soldier he served his country in the War of 1812 in the Thirty-ninth Regiment, United States Volunteers, of which John Williams was the colonel. Sam Houston was an ensign in that regiment, which took part in the Battle of Tohopeka (the Horseshoe) in 1814. In the battle Houston was wounded and James Campbell, being near, helped carry him from the field.[50] Years afterward, in recognition of his service to her husband, Mrs. Houston presented Houston's gold-headed cane to this hero.[51]

As a farmer, James Campbell experimented with the best grasses, grains, fruits, and livestock. He raised grapes and had some success with the tea plant.[52] During the Civil War, though he was too old to take any active part in the struggle, he was an adherent of states rights. Some loyal neighbors were in opposition to his views and annoyed him with threats to burn his house and other buildings. They did destroy his mill and caused him to go to Texas for awhile. When he returned to the state he remained for a time at Sweetwater, where he had friends and relatives, until he was "permitted to return to his home."[53]

He married, first, October 9, 1822, Patsey (or Penelope) Hazelwood, whose parents lived in the neighborhood. His second marriage, August 11,

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[48]S. T. Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College* (Maryville, 1916), 80.

[49]Same as note 38; also obituary—a newspaper clipping in the Daniel Meek Bible in McClung Collection.

[50]Obituary of James Campbell, signed X (Mrs. Breck, daughter of J. G. M. Ramsey, made affidavit that her father wrote articles so signed) in Knoxville *Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1879.

[51]*Ibid.*

[52]*Daily Press and Herald* (Knoxville), March 18, 1869.

[53]J. G. M. Ramsey, Autobiography (a typewritten copy in McClung Collection), 73. The manuscript is to be published in the near future under the editorship of W. B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin.

1825, was to Charlotte Dardis (1800-Apr. 23, 1870), of Knoxville, daughter of James and Lucy (Sims) Dardis.[54]

By his first marriage, he had a son, (6) William Alexander; by his second wife, the children were: (6) Lucy Ann, Mary Elizabeth, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Rodgers Caldwell, Catherine Harriet, James Dardis (1838-1852), Charlotte Josephine, and Margaret Jane.

(6) William Alexander Campbell (1823-May 10, 1908), son of James and Patsey (Hazelwood) Campbell, participated in the Mexican War, 1846-1847. He was a volunteer in the Knoxville Dragoons, organized June 10, 1846, with William R. Caswell, captain, and Samuel Bell, lieutenant, and which became a part of the Second Regiment. The men in this regiment were mustered out at New Orleans sometime after April, 1847. This soldier did not return to Tennessee at that time but remained in the Southwest until he joined a group of men bound for the gold fields of California, in 1849 or 1850. However, gold digging did not yield the wealth anticipated, but as prices of all farm and garden products were enormously high and they were in great demand, this soldier turned his attention to farming and, in this, succeeded. A small Mexican War pension was useful to him. After fifty-six years away from his native land, he sold his possessions in California and came to visit his relatives and remained with them until his death. His remains lie in the National Cemetery in Knoxville.[55]

(6) Lucy Ann Campbell (June, 1826-Oct. 30, 1911), daughter of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, married, July 20, 1856, F. Augustus Schnicke, a landscape artist and gardner. Their home at Riverdale, situated upon a hill overlooking the French Broad River, was ornamented with evergreens and many flowering shrubs that bordered the driveway leading from the highway to the house. Their children were: (7) Lucy (b. 1857), Fred, Herbert, Theresa, Rose, Thelma, Luther (who lived in Florida), and Thomas Schnicke (who married Annie Kleipstein).

(6) Mary Elizabeth Campbell (Aug. 22, 1828-Dec. 15, 1897), daughter of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, married, July 21, 1859, John Alexander McMillan Thornton (Mar. 22, 1826-Mar. 29, 1909), son of Thomas Davis and Elizabeth (McMillan) Thornton. J. A. M. Thornton was a grocery merchant in the Knoxville Market House. Their three sons were: Thomas Campbell, James W., and John Andrew.

(7) Thomas Campbell Thornton (Sept. 6, 1860-Mar. 3, 1942) was a retail shoe merchant in Knoxville for more than fifty years; was a member of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church since early childhood. He married, December 18, 1895, Annie Jett (b. Jan. 7, 1873 in Chattanooga). Their two children are: (8) John Edward Thornton, a graduate of the University of Tennessee, a member of the Sons of the Revolution, and an insurance agent; and (8) Mary Elizabeth Thornton, who was a teacher in the Knoxville schools, married Hugh M. Davis, an official of C. M. McClung and Company.

(7) James W. Thornton (Apr. 19, 1862-Dec. 6, 1936) was a jeweler on Market Square in Knoxville; later carried on the same business in De-

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[54]A biographical sketch of James Dardis in Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country*, 407-09.

[55]Family records collected by Mrs. Ada Campbell Larew, Knoxville.

catur, Alabama. He married Isabella Frow (d. Oct. 6, 1938). They both died in Alabama, but were interred in New Gray Cemetery, Knoxville.

(7) John Andrew Thornton was born, May 22, 1867, in Knoxville; died in Philadelphia. He was a boiler manufacturer with business in Pittsburgh. He married, first, Mary Badge, and had a daughter (8) Kate; married, second, Edith Badge, and had a daughter, (8) Frances.

(6) Andrew Jackson Campbell, M.D. (Oct. 16, 1830-May 4, 1904), son of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, was graduated from the Medical College in Philadelphia in the class of 1855-56 and practiced medicine and surgery in Knoxville, Tennessee. During the Civil War he served as a surgeon in the Confederate army in the Fourth Infantry of which W. M. Churchwell was the colonel. Upon returning from the war, he resided on Walnut Street, then on Asylum (now Western Avenue) Street.[86] He married, Feb. 26, 1857, Mary J. Lynch (1837-Jan. 26, 1923), daughter of Captain James Lynch, of Abingdon, Virginia, who was a volunteer in the War with Mexico and was killed in that war. She was educated at the East Tennessee Female Institute in Knoxville. The Campbell family belonged to the Fifth Avenue (old Third) Presbyterian Church, Mrs. Campbell being a member fifty years. One of their neighbors was the Hodgson family of which the celebrated author, Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, was a member. Dr. and Mrs. Campbell were interred in Gray Cemetery, Knoxville. Their children were: (7) James Eugene, Walter Lynch, Thomas Andrew (d. young), Anna (d. young), Ada Mary, Rose Rodgers, Maude Jackson, Ernest Lee, Luther Shepherd, Bertha Newman and Raymond Mortimer.

(7) James Eugene Campbell (1858-June 18, 1934) attended the University of Tennessee; was a business man. He married Ellen Riley and removed to Orlando, Florida, but returned to Knoxville before his death. Their son, (8) Albert Campbell, after finishing at the Knoxville High School, engaged in the marble business. He resides in Louisville, Kentucky.

(7) Walter Lynch Campbell married; lived in Alabama; then in Chicago; is with Rand, McNally and Company.

(7) Ada Mary Campbell (b. 1866) was educated in private schools of Knoxville and is a well-known historical writer and poetess, and contributor to periodicals and newspapers. She is the author of the play, "The Scarlet Coat," which was produced by TVA players in 1936. She is a member of a number of societies in which she has held offices. Among them are the Woman's Club, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Tennessee Woman's Press and Authors' Club. She is also a member of the Clan Campbell Association of America of which she is justifiably proud. In October, 1898, she was married to Charles Linville Larew (d. May 3, 1945), owner and operator of the Larew Printing Company for more than fifty years.

(7) Rose Rodgers Campbell (b. Mar. 28, 1868) married Edward Herbert Lennon (Sept. 9, 1863-May 26, 1927), who was born in Buffalo, New York. He was a vestryman of St. James Episcopal Church in Knoxville, Tennessee, and was a prominent Mason. The family lived on Scott Street at the time of his death. Mrs. Lennon lives now at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Their children: (8) Mary Lynch Lennon, who married Ben

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[86] *Ibid.*

Lenoir Stanfiel; (8) Isabel Tracy Lennon, who married, first, John Ferrell, second, Dr. Charles E. Harris; (8) E. H. Lennon, Jr., who married Pearl George, and was a soldier in World War I and won a Cross of Honor.

(7) Maude Jackson Campbell married Clarence King; lives in Fountain City. Their children: (8) James Larew, Terry Tracy, and Luther.

(7) Ernest Lee Campbell (b. July 19, 1872) was, for many years, a traveling salesman associated with the Woodruff Hardware Company and, later, with the Tampa (Florida) Hardware Company. He lives in Knoxville; married Edna Gleason. He is a member of the Presbyterian church; is also a Mason.

(7) Luther Shepherd Campbell (Dec. 10, 1876-Jan. 17, 1945) was a lieutenant in the Spanish American War. He lived at Harrogate, Tennessee; married there, January 11, 1917, Rosetta Eastridge. He was buried in the National Cemetery in Knoxville with Veterans of the Spanish-American War conducting the service.

(7) Bertha Newman Campbell and her brother, Luther, were twins, December 10, 1876. She married, first, James Collier; second, Maurice Davidson; lives in California.

(7) Raymond M. Campbell for a number of years was connected with Payne's Shoe Store. In World War I he was overseas, was gassed, and spent a long time in an army hospital. He is an artist; lives in California.

(6) Thomas Rodgers Caldwell Campbell (Aug. 18, 1833-Sept. 4, 1913), son of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, was born and died at Riverdale, Knox County, Tennessee. He was graduated from Maryville College. On November 28, 1865, he married Anna Elizabeth Davis (Jan. 1, 1844-Jan. 20, 1909), daughter of Reps Jones Davis and wife, Melinda Singleton, of Sevier County. Mrs. Campbell was graduated from a school at Salem, North Carolina.[57] At the reorganization of Lebanon Presbyterian Church after the close of the Civil War, Thomas Rodgers Campbell was installed a ruling elder and Mrs. Campbell was a member. He cultivated his large "Riverdale Farm" with as much interest in agriculture and stock raising as his father had had. Riverdale was a post-office until the rural delivery system was established. "No man in his section of the country devoted more of his time for the advancement of the cause of education and good roads."[58] Their children: (7) James Reps, Thomas Brabson, Margaret *Linda,* John Alexander, Joseph B. (d. young), and Lucy Charlotte.

(7) James Reps Campbell (Jan. 25, 1867-Aug. 15, 1924) received a degree at the University of Tennessee in 1887; was a charter member of Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity. As a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Knoxville he was active in its work. In 1887 he was an auditor for the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad (now a part of the Southern Railway system). He was later receiver of the Cumberland Railroad with headquarters in Kentucky.[59] In June, 1890, he was married, by the Rev. James Park, to Lucy Evelyn Proffitt, daughter of James K. and Sarah Jane (Parker) Proffitt.

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[57]Information from John A. Campbell.

[58]Obituary in Knoxville *Sentinel,* September 1, 1913; Goodspeed Publishing Co., *History of Tennessee,* Knox County edition (Nashville, 1887), 928.

[59]University of Tennessee *Record* (Knoxville), 1898, p. 163; *Tennessee Alumnus* (Knoxville), IX (1925), 32. This probably was a re-charter of the fraternity, for the original charter of the chapter at the University of Tennessee was granted in 1874.

(7) Thomas Brabson Campbell (June 10, 1869-Mar. 1, 1931) was graduated from the University of Tennessee in the class of 1889. He married, June 27, 1917, Jessie Miranda Berry (Oct. 6, 1877-Dec. 11, 1937), daughter of Jesse Wells Berry and wife, Rutelia McMillan. Their daughter, (8) Margaret Ruth Campbell (b. Jan. 21, 1921), a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, married, September 12, 1942, Wallace G. Price; lives at Breckenridge, Colorado.

(7) Linda (Lynn) Campbell (Aug. 26, 1872-Oct. 20, 1943) was graduated from Knoxville High School, 1889; married, January, 1896, Dr. John Willis Drinnen (Mar. 6, 1866-Apr. 7, 1938), of Sevier County. He first practiced medicine at Henry's Cross Roads, then at Riverdale; was a member of the Baptist church; was a Mason; also, a member of the Knox County Library Board.[60] Their children: (8) Margaret E. Drinnen (b. Apr. 10, 1901), who married the Rev. Ira Cecil Frazier, a Baptist minister who was a chaplain in the army in World War II; (8) Lucy Sue Drinnen (b. Mar. 18, 1901); (8) Bryan Drinnen; (8) Thomas Brabson Drinnen, M.D. (1907-Feb. 24, 1944), a graduate of the University of Tennessee Medical College, Memphis, who was in service in World War II as a captain in the Army Medical Corps, and died in England.[61] (He married Fern Brooks and had three sons); and (8) Anna L. Drinnen, who married Richard Austin Cate, sheriff of Knox County, Tennessee.

(7) John Alexander Campbell (b. Dec. 10, 1874) is the only child of T. R. C. Campbell living and has furnished much of the data used in this family sketch of the Campbells. He attended the Knoxville schools and then supervised his father's farm and store; also worked in the post office of Riverdale. He married, January 2, 1900, Olive Anna Kennedy (b. May 25, 1880), daughter of James and Harriet Emily (Vance) Kennedy. In 1920 they removed to Hope Hull, Alabama, near Montgomery. They have three daughters: (8) Irene Campbell, a graduate of the University of Alabama, 1925, who married Richard W. Powell and has three children; (8) Anna Harriet Campbell, who was graduated from the University of Alabama, 1929, and married Horace Clifton Horn, and has two children; and (8) Johnnielyn Campbell, a graduate of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama, 1940, who married Thomas B. Sutton, and has two children.

(7) Lucy Charlotte Campbell (Nov. 22, 1883-Sept. 24, 1928) married June, 1906, Henry Frazier Bailey; lived at Orlando, Florida. Their children: (8) James Campbell Bailey, who married Betty Carrington; (8) Margaret Bailey; (8) H. F. Bailey, Jr.; and (8) Saralyn, who married E. L. Brantley.

(6) Catherine (Kate) Harriet Campbell (May 23, 1836-Dec. 6, 1920), daughter of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, was born at Riverdale; died in Fountain City, Tennessee; lived much of her life in a home on the site of the new Knoxville Post Office building. As a young woman she was noted, among a large circle of relatives and friends, for her beauty and her graciousness which she retained to a wonderful degree as long as she lived. She attended both public and private schools of Knoxville. On September 16, 1858, she was married by the Rev. James Wilson to William *Francis* Luttrell (Aug. 8, 1827-Dec. 13, 1908), son of James and Ellen (Bounds) Luttrell,

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[60]Obituary in Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, April 7, 1938.
[61]*Ibid.*, January 2, 3, 1949.

who was a farmer and, later, a grocer of Knoxville. Mrs. Luttrell was a member of Lebanon Presbyterian Church and two of her daughters were baptized in that church. In Knoxville they became members of the Third Presbyterian Church. Their three daughters were: (7) Ella J., Margaret C., and Frances.

(7) Ella Josephine Luttrell (July 23, 1859-Sept. 20, 1908), daughter of William Francis and Kate (Campbell) Luttrell, was educated in the schools of Knoxville and taught school at Strawberry Plains and in Knoxville. On November 14, 1882, she was married in the Third Presbyterian Church by the Rev. William S. Harrison, pastor, to Joseph Alexander Porter (Nov. 14, 1846-June 4, 1925), son of Boyd Porter and wife, Margaret Rhodes McNutt. Boyd Porter, a Confederate soldier, was captured and died in a Federal prison in Nashville. J. A. Porter was connected with Cowan, McClung and Company, wholesale merchants. He became an elder in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. Their children: (8) Harriet Porter, deceased, married Nathaniel N. Boyden; (8) Margaret Ellen Porter married Edwin Hendrick Gillespie; lives in Atlanta; (8) Loulie Porter (d. 1953) married William Franklin Buchanan, of Atlanta; (8) Joseph A. Porter, Jr., was with the A. E. F. in France during World War I (d. 1952); (8) Elizabeth *Miriam* Porter lives in Atlanta.

(7) Margaret Campbell Luttrell (Apr. 30, 1863-Nov. 17, 1944) was trained to become a teacher and taught in the schools of Knoxville and of Strawberry Plains. She was married in the Third Presbyterian Church, Dec. 21, 1882, to Paul *Stuart* McMullen (Nov. 25, 1856-Feb. 12, 1933) son of the Rev. James P. McMullen and wife, Nora Fulton. The Reverend McMullen was a chaplain in the Confederate army; lost his life on the battle field at Resaca, Georgia. P. Stuart McMullen was a salesman for a furniture company and, later, was in the marble business. They had three children. (8) Pauline McMullen married Lawrence Paul Scantlin; has two sons. (8) Jamie McMullen was an outstanding business woman; died in 1952. (8) Margaret McMullen was a teacher in Knoxville City Schools and married Hugh Howard McCutchan, who served in World War I. Their only child, H. H. McCutchan, Jr., a pilot in the Eighth Army Air Force, World War II, was killed in action.[62]

(7) Frances Luttrell (d. Mar. 3, 1937) was born in Knoxville; died at San Diego, California. She had a business education; was secretary of a Knoxville law firm several years; was then employed in the office of the Southern Railway in Washington, D. C. She married Joseph Canby Hadsall, of West Virginia. They removed to Wheatland, Wyoming, where her husband died in 1911. She resided after his death at Del Mar, California, at which place her only son, Joseph Vernon Hadsall, was killed in a car wreck at the age of twenty years.

(6) Charlotte Josephine Campbell, daughter of Jane and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, was not married. She lived with the family of Dr. J. W. Drinnen and died February 27, 1921.

(6) Margaret Jane Campbell (Aug. 4, 1844-Oct. 2, 1874), daughter of James and Charlotte (Dardis) Campbell, married Eugene Easton while her father's family was living in Texas, and they lived at Paris, Texas. They

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[62] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1945.

had three children: (7) Annie Easton, who married Mr. Kelley, a druggist of Dallas, and had a daughter, Olive Kelley; (7) James Easton; and (7) John Easton who lived in Indian Territory.

ANN CAMPBELL GODDARD

(5) Ann Campbell (1799-Oct. 28, 1856), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was married, January 25, 1820, to John Goddard (d. July 11, 1826), a brother of William Goddard who married her sister, Jane. John Goddard was a farmer, "a very meritorious man and a highly useful citizen."[63] He died while on business at Tuscumbia, Alabama. William Campbell, brother-in-law, was the administrator of the estate which was settled in December, 1927. In an obituary of Mrs. Ann Goddard, written by Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, her family physician, she is highly praised for the care and training she gave to her three children, the youngest of whom was born after her husband's death. The children: (6) William Lafayette, Elizabeth Jane, and Mary Avis Lockhart.

(6) William Lafayette Goddard (Sept. 27, 1822-Aug. 14, 1894), son of John and Ann (Campbell) Goddard, married January 6, 1846, Lucy Ann Armstrong (Dec. 21, 1829-Jan. 18, 1893), daughter of Moses and Amelia (Morrow) Armstrong. They had two children: (7) John Moses and Charles Bruce.

(7) John Moses Goddard (1846-Apr. 27, 1928) married Frances Landers (d. 1906), of Rome, Georgia. He was for some time in the lumber business in Knoxville. He was interred in Greenwood Cemetery, Knoxville. Their children: (8) W. A. Goddard, who married Lelia Hammer; (8) John M. Goddard, who died in Oklahoma; (8) Charles R. Goddard, who died in 1936; (8) Fannie Lee; (8) Henrietta Goddard, who married Frank Stewart; (8) Mary Lucy, who married a Mr. Brown; (8) Lillian S. Goddard, a social worker in Knoxville, as is (8) Lessie L. Goddard; and (8) Roxie K. Goddard, who married the Rev. Vondas L. Flenniken and lives in Fountain City.

(7) Charles Bruce Goddard was graduated from the Law College of the University of Tennessee.

(6) Elizabeth (Betsy) Jane Goddard, daughter of John and Ann (Campbell) Goddard, married, February 9, 1850, Claibourn Nance and they had four daughters: (7) Elizabeth Nance, who married a Mr. Vineyard; (7) Mary Nance, who married a Mr. Burnett; (7) Josephine Nance, who married Robert Stone; and (7) Sallie Nance. It is a tradition that all of them removed to Missouri.

(6) Mary Avis Lockhart Goddard was born, January 14, 1827, six months after her father's death. She married, October 1, 1845, James *Wiley* Bowman (b. July, 1823, d. about 1884), son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Green) Bowman who had settled on Tuckahoe Creek but removed to the south side of the French Broad opposite the Campbell plantation. Wiley Bowman, as he was known, had a thousand acres of land and specialized in breeding fine cattle. The land contained fine marble. He was a justice of the peace and had served as a deputy sheriff; was fond of hunting and kept a pack of hounds.[64] Deer and other game were abundant at that time in the

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[63]Obituary in Knoxville *Enquirer*, July 26, 1826.

[64]Luttrell (ed.), *U. S. Census 1850 for Knox County, Tenn.*, 12 (No. 189); Goodspeed Publishing Co., *History*, 920.

Cumberlands and in the Smokies. They were parents of seven children: (7) Samuel G., Elizabeth Jane, Margaret Isabella, Joseph S., William P., John C., and Albert.

(7) Samuel G. Bowman, M.D. (b. 1846) married Elizabeth (Betty) Trent; had three sons: (8) Walter, Samuel G. Jr., and Edgar Bowman.

(7) Margaret Isabella Bowman (b. Nov. 14, 1849) married, 1870, John D. Wrinkle (b. Feb. 15, 1845), a farmer and stock raiser. They lived on a five hundred acre farm on Tuckahoe Creek.[65] Their children: (8) Maggie, Burton, Samuel, and Wiley.

(7) Joseph S. Bowman married Annie Brakebill, daughter of Adam Brakebill. Their children: (8) Mary Belle, Lucy Annie, Joseph, Bessie, and Maggie. This family lived in Texas. After her husband's death, Mrs. James Wiley Bowman went to Texas to live with her son Joseph's family.

(7) William P. Bowman married Narrie Chandler, daughter of Timothy Chandler; had two children: (8) Laura Dell and Chandler Bowman.

(7) Albert Bowman married Mrs. Nannie (Keener) Kennedy, widow of John Kennedy; lived at Henry's Cross Roads, Sevier County.

CYNTHIA H. CAMPBELL

(5) Cynthia H. Campbell (1800-Oct. 20, 1875), daughter of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, married, June 11, 1823, Colonel Thomas Rodgers (d. Dec. 22, 1870), a widower with three children. She was a member of Lebanon Presbyterian Church but transferred to the Second Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, after marriage. At the time of her death, Dr. James Rodgers, of Knoxville, was her only step-child living.[66]

JOHN CAMPBELL

(5) John Campbell (1804-May, 1876), son of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was a farmer; owned valuable land. He was a ruling elder in the Lebanon Presbyterian Church and was a justice of the peace in his district of Knox County. However, after the Federals took possession of East Tennessee, in 1863, he removed to Georgia and, afterwards, to Alabama. He died and was buried in Cherokee County, Alabama.[67] He married, June 29, 1829, Elizabeth Armstrong (Apr. 5, 1811-d. 1865), daughter of Moses and Amelia (Morrow) Armstrong. Her father operated the well-known Armstrong Ferry on Holston River four miles above Knoxville—later known as Ruggles Ferry—which ceased to function after the Holston bridge was constructed there. Mrs. Campbell died at Birmingham, Alabama. Their children were (6) Richard, Amelia, Mary Jane, Moses A. (1838-1850), Margaret, and William Lafayette (b. 1842).

(6) Richard (Dick) Campbell (b. 1830) married Eliza Armstrong, daughter of James M. and Pricey (Monday) Armstrong.

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[65] *Ibid.*, 1070-71, n. 64.

[66] Luttrell (ed.), *U. S. Census 1850 for Knox County, Tenn.*, 60; Obituary in Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, October 23, 1875.

[67] Ramsey, *History of Lebanon Presbyterian Church*, 15-16; Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, 2 vols. (Chattanooga, 1918), 12; Luttrell (ed.), *U. S. Census 1850 for Knox County, Tenn.*, 11 (No. 161).

(6) Amelia Campbell (b. 1832) married, first, Elbert Sevier Davis, who had taken part in the Mexican War. They had a son, (7) E. S. Davis, Jr., who was a physician of San Antonio, Texas. Mrs. Davis married, second, Isaac Alexander, and had three children: (7) John, Charles, and Elizabeth, who lived in Rome, Georgia.

(6) Mary Jane Campbell (b. 1835) married Marshall Alexander Huffaker (Feb. 25, 1830-Dec. 13, 1897), son of Henry Huffaker. They had two sons and five daughters: (7) William L., Henry Floyd, Alice, Josie, Annie Armetta, Bertha E., and Florence Adeline.

(7) William L. Huffaker (May 6, 1862-Sept. 7, 1918) was a farmer; lived at Hunters, Washington (State). He was married and had two children. He was accidentally shot and died at Hunters.

(7) Henry Floyd Huffaker (June 3, 1870-Feb. 7, 1946) was born in McMinn County, Tennessee; died in Knoxville. For more than forty years he was a prominent dentist of Knoxville.[68] He married, first, Frances Patterson and they had a daughter, (8) Emma Mary (Maizie), an attractive and popular young lady who was killed, December, 1925, in an automobile accident while returning from a social function at the Cherokee Country Club, Knoxville. After the death of his first wife, Dr. Huffaker married, November 16, 1935, Mrs. Ruth Yoeman, of Atlanta.

(7) Alice Huffaker (b. Nov. 29, 1867) married J. C. Bettis; lived at Hillsboro, Oregon. (7) Josie Huffaker (b. July 3, 1860) married Dr. W. L. Cate, of Jefferson City, Tennessee. (7) Annie Armetta Huffaker (b. Dec. 27, 1864) married Dr. W. K. King, of Jefferson City. (7) Bertha E. Huffaker (b. Jan. 1868) married W. T. McCarty. (7) Florence Adaline Huffaker (b. Nov. 1, 1879) married Carroll Foust.

(6) Margaret Campbell (Dec. 25, 1839-Jan. 24, 1909) became the second wife of Joseph Keener. She was buried in the Salem Gemetery at Riverdale.

HARRIET CAMPBELL BLACKBURN PECK

(5) Harriet Campbell (Mar. 12, 1806-July 27, 1877), the youngest child of Captain Alexander and Mary (Lockhart) Campbell, was born in Knox County; died at New Market, Tennessee. She married, first, Alexander Blackburn, who had one son. He died in 1846. Harriet married, second, September 5, 1850, Henry H. Peck, a widower whose first wife was Elizabeth Cox. He and his two wives were buried in the Mossy Creek Cemetery (now the Jefferson City Cemetery).[69]

(This Campbell sketch will be concluded in the next number of the *Publications*. A history of the families of "Elder" David Campbell and Sergeant James Campbell will be given; also some notes relative to the Lockhart Family.)

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[68]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, February 8, 1946; Knoxville *Journal*, February 9, 1946.

[69]"Jefferson City Cemetery" (formerly Mossy Creek Cemetery) in Historical Records Survey, Tennessee, Jefferson County Tombstone Records (typewritten copy, W.P.A.), 134.

"PARSON" BROWNLOW'S FEARS: A LETTER ABOUT THE DANGEROUS, DESPERATE DEMOCRATS

Edited by LeRoy P. Graf

A nation which has recently passed through the agonies of a major war is likely to find that some of its citizens bear psychological as well as physical scars. The bitter anger and hatreds which during wartime are aroused against the enemy combined with the atmosphere of fear and suspicion which pervades a society in which spying and sabotage are widespread often produce a post-war psychology of hysteria and insecurity. The American Civil War left its mark, especially on those southern Unionists who had suffered as the result of their Unionism. And the efforts of the former Confederates to drive out carpetbaggers and displace scalawags and Negroes, to reassert "southern" authority in the defeated states, made men like William G. Brownlow particularly resentful and angry.[1]

Yet the accompanying letter is not to be explained merely in terms of the post-war psychology of the southern Unionist. The personality of the writer is also a factor. "Parson" Brownlow was a man of strong moral feeling who, like many able men, once he had made up his mind tended to transform his views on public affairs into a simple matter of right and wrong. Those who agreed with him stood with the angels, firmly grasping wisdom and truth; those who disagreed with him were Satan's minions who must be defeated before they spread their evil miasma abroad in the world. It might be added that the Parson had a very vivid imagination which led him to exaggerate any possible threat to the cause he supported.[2] Never particularly temperate in his opinions and judgments, the Parson became increasingly bitter toward and suspicious of his opponents as he grew older. To Brownlow's way of thinking Presbyterians, Baptists, Abolitionists, and Democrats before the Civil War, Rebels and Democrats after that conflict were the most dangerously wrongheaded groups. Thus, Brownlow seems to have ac-

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[1]On Brownlow see E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1937).

[2]I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Stanley J. Folmsbee, for drawing my attention to a letter which Brownlow wrote after the county elections of 1866 had gone against the Union men previously appointed by Andrew Johnson, as military governor, and Brownlow, as elected governor. Convinced that Johnson, his erstwhile Democratic opponent in East Tennessee, was not to be trusted, Brownlow, Cassandra-like, prophesied the worst. "We shall have a more desperate and bloody war than we have passed through. Johnson will place himself at the head of the Rebels and Democrats. He will, in less than twelve months, invite the Southern States to send up their delegates, and he will undertake to put them in their seats at the point of the bayonet—if indeed he does not attempt to turn out the present Congress as Cromwell did the Long Parliament. God only knows what we are coming to." W. G. Brownlow to Oliver P. Temple, March 8, 1866, Oliver P. Temple Papers (James D. Hoskins Library of the University of Tennessee).

cepted as incontrovertible fact all that he heard of charges against and rumors about the Democratic party of his day.

It would be unfair, however, to dismiss as ridiculous the fears which Brownlow expressed in this letter to John Eaton. The dire events he anticipated did not come to pass, but the Parson was right in his suggestion that at least some Democrats were desperate, and these desperate Democrats were the Democrats with whom the Parson had the most immediate contact, namely, the southern wing of the party. Many people, including Brownlow, believed that the Ku Klux Klan was responsible for all the violence against Negroes, northern men recently come to the South (all of them Republicans), and southern men who supported Republican reconstruction governments. Men who would perpetrate the outrages which Brownlow and his fellow Republicans attributed to the Klan would stop at nothing to achieve their ends. Moreover, had not southern men of apparent probity and good sense led their states out of the Union in 1861 and thereby precipitated the four years of fratricidal war? Why was it so farfetched to think that these same men might not succumb to the temptations of "fraud and intimidation" or even "assassination" to achieve their goal of "Disunion and Anarchy"? Though we know that the practice of fraud and intimidation was not limited to southerners trying to recover control of their states, a Republican like Brownlow heard daily of instances of violence attributed exclusively to the Democrats and assumed that when the prize was the presidency it was to be expected that these evil men would resort to even more heinous crimes.

In 1871 Brownlow was in the midst of his term as United States senator from Tennessee, having been elected in 1869 after serving as reconstruction governor for most of two terms. It was under the so-called Brownlow School Law of 1867 that John Eaton, the recipient of this letter, was for two years the superintendent of public instruction of Tennessee.[3] Born in New Hampshire, Eaton was a school administrator in northern Ohio after graduating from Dartmouth in 1854. Preparing for the ministry just before the coming of the Civil War, he became chaplain of the 27th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, serving until he was detailed by General Grant to work with the Negroes freed by the advancing Union armies in West Tennessee and Mississippi. After assisting in setting up the Freedmen's Bureau, Eaton returned to Tennessee to undertake the publication of the Memphis *Post,* the Republican organ in West Tennessee. In 1870 President Grant rewarded his old friend with the post of United States commissioner of education, an office Eaton held until 1886. Brownlow and others seem to have assumed that the new

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[3]Ethel Osgood Mason, "John Eaton, a Biographical Sketch," in John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen . . .* (New York, 1907), ix-xxxiv; *Dictionary of American Biography* (21 vols. and index. New York, 1928-44), V, 608-09; Frank B. Williams, "John Eaton, Jr., Editor, Politician, and School Administrator," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* X (December, 1951), 291-319.

commissioner of education had ready access to the President's ear, hence the channeling of this letter through Eaton. Whether Grant saw it, we cannot say, but the letter was transmitted to someone, for it carries a penciled endorsement, "Return to Comr Eaton."

Written in a clear hand on stationery of the United States Senate Chamber bearing a handsome engraving of the Capitol, the letter was probably penned by the Parson's son, John B. Brownlow, for by this time the Parson was too physically enfeebled to do much more than add his signature. This letter is found in the John Eaton Papers which have been deposited in the James D. Hoskins Library of the University of Tennessee by Mrs. Ethel Mason Eaton.

WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW TO JOHN EATON, JR.

Knoxville Sept. 4th 1871

Gen'l John Eaton Jr
Commissioner & tc.

Dear Sir,

Having conversed with, and having been written to by a number of reliable men in the South, I am prepared to make some statements to you which to say the least of are worthy of consideration.

The contest for the Presidency will be the most bitter, fierce, and even bloody, that we have ever witnessed in this government.

The Democratic party are desperate, and will resort to any means however foul to carry their point. Their programme is this; They aim to carry the South *Solid* by force and intimidation: and they aim to carry the great state of New York by fraud. This Start they claim will elect a Democratic President. They will behave in the South to within a few weeks of the election, when the Ku Klux organization will develop its whole strength to intimidate union men from the polls where they can, and to actually drive them away if they must, in order to Succeed. Having by Ku Klux force in the South, and Tammany frauds in New York and the North, carried what will be the semblance of a majority of the electoral vote, they will claim this to constitute a constitutional election, and if the American people see proper to dissent from this corrupt and illegal proceeding, which the Republican party will be in honor bound to do, They will seize the pretext of fighting in the union and under the flag, with the design of ultimately accomplishing disunion, and restoring the "Bonnie blue flag" of the Southern Confederacy.

It will be remembered that at the beginning of the late war, many prominent rebels, and Secessionists, advocated the policy of then fighting in the union and under the old flag, until they Should have Subdued what they were pleased to term the Abolitionists of the North, So that they might then Shape the organization of their new government to Suit themselves.[4]

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[4]At first glance Brownlow may seem here to introduce a rather startlingly novel idea. Perhaps one explanation of this observation is that the Parson was referring to those southerners who in the years before the war counselled moderation and working within the Union but who, when secession became a fact, unlike Brownlow, accepted the actions of their states and embraced the Confederate cause. Some of

Since the Surrender of the rebel armies, many leading rebels, have expressed regret, that the war had not been commenced and fought in the name of the union and the Constitution, until victory had been achieved, when they could then have divided the government according to the originally devised plan of the disunionists. It is not uncommon to hear it said by rebels, that the first and most grave mistake, in Mr Davis and his followers, was in failing to make the fight for a Southern Confederacy in the union, instead of first assuming to go out of it, and fighting in the name of the new government. I am not alarmed. Nor am I an alarmist. In 1860, and 61, I encountered secession and rebellion without being alarmed, or becoming an alarmist. I then had the utmost confidence in the American people. So now, I am encouraged for the future because my confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the American people is unabated. But, while this is true, it is as certain as that we have had a rebellion, that the Democracy have an organized and preunderstood programme, such as I have indicated, and for the same wicked purpose that impelled them to inaugerate [*sic*] the late struggle.

Should they fail by fraud and intimidation to accomplish the result of a majority of the electoral vote, their next resort will be assassination. They can get up a first class collision on any railroad in twenty four hours. Hence I am always uneasy when I learn the President is out of Washington. The greatest danger to our cause, and the strongest probability of the Democracy being able to effectuate their present, and I may add earnest purpose of destroying the government, lies in the efforts of pretended Republicans to defeat Gen. Grants renomination, and if that shall fail assassination in order to remove him out of the way. These two dangers aside and our success is assured. There will be a desperate war made on the President in the nominating Convention. Let the friends of his Administration, and those who think as I do, that he should be re-elected, see that the right kind of material, that is to Say, good men, are Sent to the National Convention.

[Three lines cut from the letter]

I Suggest in good earnest, that the Interior, Treasury, and Post Office Departments, even create as many offices as they can so as to employ Suitable, energetic, talented, and at the same time honest men to electioneer, not so particularly for President Grant, but for the perpetuity of the government, for after all that is the question — the re-election of Grant, and the union of the States, or the defeat of Grant, and Disunion and Anarchy.

I wish you to take occasion to show this letter to Gen'l Babcock,[5] or any other good Republican, as you may desire.

Very Respectfully
W. G. Brownlow

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them, like Alexander Stephens, held high posts in the Confederacy and therefore technically, and certainly in Brownlow's eyes, were "prominent rebels, and Secessionists," who had advocated trying to advance southern interests "in the union and under the old flag. . . ."

[5]Orville E. Babcock, Grant's military crony who moved with him into the White House to be one of his private secretaries, was generally recognized as the man nearest to the President's ear. Among many unscrupulous men whose behavior ultimately brought the Grant administration into bad repute, Babcock "served more than any other man to blacken the record of Grant's Administration." William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), 381.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1952

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

Adams, J. Louis. Old Purdy. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 6: 5-33.)

Alexander, Thomas B. Strange bedfellows: the interlocking careers of T. A. R. Nelson, Andrew Johnson, and W. G. (Parson) Brownlow. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 24: 68-91.)

Avery, Mrs. Roy C., ed. The Second Presbyterian Church of Nashville during the Civil War. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '52. v. 11: 356-75.)

Baughn, Milton L. An early experiment in adult education: the Nashville Lyceum. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '52. v. 11: 235-45.)

Bayless, R. W. Peter Van Winkle and Waitman T. Willey in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. (West Virginia hist. Jan. '52.)

Billings, Henry. All down the valley. New York, Viking, 1952. 208 p. illus., maps.

Beatty, Richard C., *et al.*, ed. The literature of the South. Chicago, Scott, Foresman, 1952. 1106 p.

Black, Robert Clifford. Railroads of the Confederacy. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1952. 360 p. illus., maps.

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Bull, Jacqueline P. The general merchant in the economic history of the new south. (Jour. of so. hist. Feb. '52. v. 18: 37-59.)

Burns, Inez. Settlement and early history of the coves of Blount county, Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 24: 44-67.)

Burt, Jesse C. Edmund Cole and the struggle between Nashville and Louisville and their railroads. (Filson Club hist. qr. Apr. '52. v. 26: 112-32.)

Callahan, North. Smoky Mountain country. American Folkways series, ed. by Erskine Caldwell. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1952, 257 p.

Carson Newman College. Class of Education 324. Short history of education in Tennessee. Jefferson City, Tenn., 1952. 63 p. mimeographed.

Clark, Sam L., ed. A Confederate officer visits Richmond. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '52. v. 11: 86-91.)

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Fischer, Fred W. Before the Cherokee. (Jour. Tenn. Acad. Sc. Oct. '52. v. 27: 265-68.)

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. The Armstrongs of Indian territory. (Chron. Oklahoma. Autumn '52. v. 30: 292-308.)

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Govan, Gilbert E. and Livingood, James W. The Chattanooga country, 1540-1951. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1952. 509 p.

Graebner, Norman A. James K. Polk: a study in federal patronage. (Miss. Valley hist. rev. Mar. '52. v. 38: 613-32.)

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Grant, U. S. Personal memoirs. ed. by E. B. Long. Cleveland, World Pub. Co., 1952. 608 p.

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Halpert, Herbert. Riddles from West Tennessee. (Tenn. Folklore Soc. Bul. June '52. v. 18: 29-42.)

Hardin, Bayless E. Dr. Samuel Brown, 1769-1830: his family and descendants. (Filson Club hist. qr. Jan. '52. v. 26: 3-27.)

Harkness, David. Some first facts about Tennessee. (Univ. of Tenn. News letter, Mar. '52. v. 21, no. 3: 1-18.)

Henry, Milton. What became of the Tennessee whigs? (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '52. v. 11: 57-62.)

Herndon, John Goodwin. Thomas Wingfield of York River, Virginia: his ancestry and some of his Virginia and Georgia descendants. (Va. mag. of hist. and biog. Apr. '52. v. 60: 305-22.)

Hesseltine, William B. Lyman Copeland Draper, 1815-1819. (Wisc. mag. of hist. and biog. Spr. '52.

Hoffman, William S. Andrew Jackson, state rightist: the case of the Georgia Indians. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '52. v. 11: 329-45.)

Hoover, Calvin B. and Ratchford, B. U. Economic resources and policies of the South. New York, Macmillan Co., 1951. 464 p.

Johnson, Rayburn W. Population trends in Tennessee from 1940-1950. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '52. v. 11: 254-62.)

Keith, Alice Barnwell. The John Gray Blount papers. Vol. 1. 1764-1789. Raleigh, N. C., State department of archives and history, 1952, 572 p.

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McCown, Mary Hardin. Captain Robert Sevier. (D. A. R. mag. Feb. '52. v. 86: 141-42.)

McKeithan, D. M. Mark Twain's story of the bull and the bees. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '52. v. 11: 246-53.)

McPherson, Elizabeth Gregory. Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson. (North Carolina hist. qr. Jan.-Oct. '52. v. 29: 104-19; 259-68; 400-31; 569-78.) [continued from Dec. '51]

Malone, Henry T. The Cherokees as a civilized tribe. (Emory Univ. qr. Dec. '52.)

Mangum, Charles S., Jr. The legal status of the tenant farmer in the Southeast. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1952. 478 p.

Massey, Mary E. Ersatz in the Confederacy. Columbia, Univ. of S. C. press, 1952. 233 p. illus.

Mathes, C. Hodge. Tall tales from old Smoky. Kingsport, Southern Publishers, 1952. 241 p.

Moore, John Trotwood. Sketch of Sam Davis. (D. A. R. mag. Feb. '52. v. 86: 152.)

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O'Dell, Ruth. Tennessee play parties. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Sept. '52. v. 18: 68-70.)

Parks, Edd Winfield. Zollicoffer: southern whig. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '52. v. 18: 346-55.)

Parks, Joseph H. and Folmsbee, Stanley J. The story of Tennessee. Oklahoma City, Harlow pub. corp., 1952. 424 p. illus., maps.

Penrod, James. The folk mind in early southwestern humor. (Tenn. Folklore soc. bul. Je. '52. v. 18: 49-54.)

Phifer, Gregg. Andrew Johnson argues a case. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '52. v. 11: 148-70.)

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Phifer, Gregg. Andrew Johnson takes a trip. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '52. v. 11: 3-22.)

Plaisance, Reverend Alloysius. The Chickasaw bluffs factory and its removal to the Arkansas River. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '52. v. 11: 41-56.)

Posey, Walter B. The Presbyterian church in the old Southwest, 1778-1838. Richmond, Va., John Knox press, 1952. 192 p.

Price, Prentiss. Samuel Shaver: portrait painter. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 24: 92-105.)

Reid, Legh W. The English ancestry of the Hoxtons of Maryland and Virginia. (Virginia mag. of hist. and biog. Jan. '52. v. 60: 115-68.)

Robins, Ruby Matson. Cape Girardeau district and county. (Missouri hist. rev. Oct. '51. v. 46: 46-63.)

Roske, Ralph J. Republican newspaper support for the acquittal of President Johnson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '52. v. 11: 263-73.)

Rutland, Robert. Captain William B. Walton, Mexican War volunteer. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '52. v. 11: 171-79.)

Sellers, Charles Grier, Jr. Jim Polk goes to Chapel Hill. (North Carolina hist. qr. June '52. v. 11: 171-79.)

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Stanton, William M. The Irish of Memphis. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 6: 87-118.)

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Walker, Arda S. John Henry Eaton, apostate. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 24: 26-43.)

Wallace, Sarah Agnes, ed. Letters of Mrs. James K. Polk to her husband. (Tenn. hist. qr. June-Sept. '52. v. 11: 180-91; 282-88.)

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Wengert, Norman J. Valley of tomorrow: The TVA and agriculture. Knoxville, Univ. of Tenn. bur. of pub. adm. Univ. of Tenn. Record, Ext. ser. v. 28, no. 1, Jy., '52. 151. p.

White, Robert H. Messages of the governors of Tennessee 1796-1821. 2 vols. Nashville, Tenn. historical commission, 1952. 757, 701 p.

Wiley, Bell I. Life of Billy Yank. New York, Bobbs Merrill, 1952. 454 p.

Williams, Frank B. Jr. The poll-tax as a suffrage requirement in the South. (Jour. of so. hist. Nov. '52. v. 18: 469-96.)

Wills, Jesse E. An echo from Egypt. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '52. v. 11: 63-77.)

Woodward, F. G. An early Tennessee almanac and its maker: Hill's almanac, 1825-1862. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Mar. '52. v. 18: 9-14.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESIS, 1952

East Tennessee State College

Dobson, Wayne W. Some phases of the congressional career of Andrew Johnson.

Farmer, Faun. Available material in Knox County for enriching the teaching of Tennessee history.

Jordan, Robert D. Some phases of the private life and public career of John Rhea.

Pridgen, Esther Pritchett. The influence of Doctor Samuel Doak upon education in early East Tennessee.

Middle Tennessee State College

Kennedy, Harold. A history of St. Andrew's School.
Hill, James Otto. Sewanee, a unique community.
Pevahouse, William Russell. The effects of special legislation on local county officers and officials in Tennessee.

University of Tennessee

Arnold, Dorothy Andora. Some recent contribution of the Cherokee Indians of North America to the crafts of the Southern Highlands.
Bellamy, James W. The political career of Landon Carter Haynes.
Boyatt, Bernard Cooper. George W. Truett—preacher and public speaker.
Carney, William Addison. Land utilization in Lake County, Tennessee.
Cherry, William Newell. Land utilization in Clay County, Tennessee.
Furlong, Carol Ann. The American loyalist in fiction and history.
Justus, James Huff. The Kentucky tragedy in Simms and Warren a study in changing mileux.
Knight, Mazie Marie. A history of the secondary schools of Cocke County [Tennessee].
Kohland, William Francis. The geography of the Knoxville milkshed.
Large, Dewey. A study of the ability of Sevier County to support its schools.
Phillips, Harris Edward. The geology of the Starr Mountain area.
Pieper, Mary Gladys Brown. Church organization in Bradley County, Tennessee in 1950.
Sharp, Karl Wayne. A study of the debt history of Carter County, Tennessee, 1892-1952.
Walker, Zeddie. An educational study of Grundy County, Tennessee.
Zellner, Bernard High. A study of the hydrology of the Cane Creek watershed.

Vanderbilt University

Atkins, John, Jr. Types of farming in north West Tennessee.
Larkin, Lee Roy. An economic study of the Nashville fluid milk market.
Lowe, Gabriel L., Jr. The early public career of John Henry Eaton.
Norton, Herman A. The life of Philip Slater Fall, 1798-1890.
Santmyer, Sue Patrick. The "Nashville Agrarians" as critics of American society.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

"Co. Aytch," Maury Grays, First Tennessee Regiment; or A Side Show of the Big Show. By Sam R Watkins. With an introduction by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tenn: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1952. Pp. 235. Illustrations, index. $5.00.)

"The American Civil War inspired an impressive number of soldier memoirs. Most of these have only limited value either as history or literature, but a few stand out as exceptions to the general rule. . . .

"But the Army of Tennessee had a few accomplished narrators who in the years following Appomatox took pen in hand and recorded their soldier experiences. The most delightful of these accounts, as well as the one most frequently cited by historians of the Western campaigns is Sam R. Watkins' *"Co. Aytch," Maury Grays, First Tennessee Regiment; or A Side Show of the Big Show.*

"Watkins' account, written in 1881-1882, was first published serially in his home town newspaper, the Columbia Tennessee, *Herald.* In 1882, shortly after conclusion of the newspaper series, Watkins issued his narrative in book form in an edition of 2,000 copies. This edition was quickly sold and the book remained out of print for about eighteen years. In 1900 the Chattanooga *Times* issued a second edition of 2,000 copies. This edition too was eventually exhausted with the result that for a long time the book has been hard to obtain and in recent years has commanded premium prices. . . ." (Introduction.)

It is this edition which has been reproduced with Professor Wiley's valuable and interesting illustrated commentary.

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1796-1821, 2 vols. By Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1952. Pp. xvi, 757; vi, 701. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, appendices, indexes. $8.00.)

"Many of the pressing problems of State Government in Tennessee one and one-half centuries ago are vague to us of today. Executive messages and legislative action dealing with those matters require analysis and interpretation. For that valid reason, a considerable portion of the *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee* will be devoted to explaining what was involved in the specific recommendations of the Chief Executive. Moreover, much additional documentary material outside the title of the volumes is included, inasmuch as legislative reports and expressions of public opinion emanating from those sources exerted, at times, considerable influence upon the final action taken by the Legislature. In a sense, the volumes will be semi-documentary in nature. But in analyzing and interpreting the legislative reactions to those executive recommendations and legislative reports, one is confronted with the role played by politics. . . .

"The author refrained from editing or altering the quoted material, except in a very few instances which for the sake of clarity required a minimum of changes in spelling, punctuation, or sentence-structure. . . .

"An Appendix in the volumes includes certain items that will prove helpful to the reflective reader who desires convenient references to such sources as the State Constitutions; to a list of the members of the General Assembly of the various sessions; and to tabular data regarding the inaugural ceremonies of the Governors of Tennessee." (Preface.)

Short History of Education of Tennessee. By Class of Education 324, Carson-Newman College. (Jefferson City, Tenn.: Carson-Newman College, 1952. Pp. 65, mimeographed. Footnotes, bibliography.)

"It is our pleasure to record the history of education in Tennessee from the time of the Indians to 1950. It will be found that education in the land of Tennessee has varied in many extremes; some incidents are very humorous, while there are some pathetic scenes. Education has had a progressive trend from its very beginning." (Preface.)

Marriage Record Book I, January 2, 1789-December 13, 1837, Davidson County, Tennessee. Copied by Sarah Tucker Blair. (Maryville, Tenn.: French Lick Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1952. Pp. 249, mimeographed.)

"This project was begun two years ago. After the Record Book was copied, French Lick Chapter, feeling that the volume would be of value to a large number of persons, decided to investigate the cost of having the book published. . . .

"Finally, rather than disappoint the one hundred persons and libraries who seemed very anxious for the record, the chairman of the project decided to have it mimeographed and to cut the stencils herself. Because the work was done under pressure, this has been quite an undertaking. However, with all its typographical defects, the book is released with a sense of satisfaction that the record is all there and that it will be of service to those in need of it." (Foreward.)

Memories of Rugby Colony. By Sarah L. Walton. [Rugby, Tenn.: The author, 1952.] Pp. 15. Illustrations.)

This is a brief memoir of Thomas Hughes' colonization experiment on the Cumberland Plateau.

The Porterfields. By Frank B. Porterfield. (Roanoke, Va.: Southeastern Press, Inc. [c 1947] Pp. 344.)

"My intention, in this work, is to salvage from the wreck of time, and to assemble a scant history, so laboriously but joyously gathered from widely separated corners, into a permanent form for the Porterfields, and as its interest, composed as it is from their cherished records and personal biographies, is limited to that family, and is of small concern to others." (Foreward.)

Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896. By Horace Samuel Merrill. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. x, 300. Footnotes, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"The author employs the term Bourbon to identify and to characterize the dominant Democratic leadership in the Middle West and East. These

post-Civil War Democratic leaders were Bourbons in the sense of being wealthy, self-esteemed, self-appointed guardians of an already fixed pattern for living and making a living. They were protectors of the existing, although accelerating, course of the industrial revolution. They jealously guarded this machinery of material progress against threats from restless farmers and wage earners. Often they referred to themselves and were referred to by others, as Bourbons." (Preface.)

The above definition would apply equally well to the "Bourbons" of Tennessee and other parts of the post-Civil War South.

Epidemics in Colonial America. By John Duffy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. xi, 274. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

This work deals largely with the New England colonies, but it is probable that similar health problems existed on the southern colonial frontier.

Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana. Translated and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. xxxii, 282. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

"I am offering this first complete edition in English in the belief that it is perhaps the best sustained piece of literature portraying early French dominion in old Louisiana—that is, along the Gulf Coast from Florida to Texas and in the Mississippi Valley from the Balize to the Illinois Country." (Page xv.)

Although this work has no immediate connection with Tennessee history, it provides a very necessary background.

The Cumberland Rifles. By Noel B. Gerson. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1952. Pp. 314.)

This is a novel dealing with the State of Franklin period of Tennessee history. It is based in part on historical figures and events, but naturally to a large extent it is imaginative and fictional.

Tall Tales from Old Smoky. By C. Hodge Mathes. (Kingsport: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1952. Pp. x, 241. Frontispiece. $3.00.)

"About forty-five years ago, Charles Hodge Mathes was Professor of Greek at Maryville College in Tennessee. The lofty peaks of the Great Smoky Mountains, so near at hand, had an irresistible appeal. The writer and his colleagues spent many holidays and vacations exploring them.

"Not only had the untamed wilderness a glorious appeal to the author, but the PEOPLE who lived there in sturdy, independent isolation. These were the hardy souls of English and Scotch-Irish stock whose ancestors had pushed on from the coast to the tall, aloof mountains and found there the peace and freedom they sought. Positive traces of the Elizabethan speech delighted Hodge Mathes. His fine linguistic mind found rhythm and poetry there. The people he met in the mountains became his friends . . . as did those he met in the cities. His sensitive understanding, his genuine love of his fellow men, and his gentleness were his outstanding traits.

"So Hodge Mathes wrote of the mountain people in his beloved Southern Appalachians. He wrote of their loves, their hates, their adventures, and their problems, all with a clear concept of the world in which they lived.

These people, this section of America, no longer exist as they did in those days." (Foreword.)

The John Gray Blount Papers, Volume I, 1764-1789. Edited by Alice Barnwell Keith. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1952. Pp. xiv, 572. Illustrations, notes, index.)

"The massiveness of the collection together with the ephemeral character of the content of many of the manuscripts made the publication of the whole impracticable as well as undesirable. An attempt has been made by the editor to select for publication those which are most interesting and historically valuable, and they have been chronologically arranged, to appear in a series of volumes. Volume I covers the years to 1790. Every effort has been made to reproduce the material as accurately as possible, even to the retention of the original spelling and punctuation. As a whole, the collection is in a remarkable state of preservation; in a few instances the fragmentary and dilapidated condition of the manuscripts has made their reproduction far from satisfactory. The captions of the letters have been arbitrarily arranged by the editor, but always with due regard to authenticity and meaning." (Foreword.)

In view of the land speculative interests of the Blount brothers, particularly William, who was soon to become governor of the Southwest Territory, many of the letters deal with Tennessee history.

Confederate Georgia. By T. Conn Bryan. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1953. Pp. x, 299. Notes, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"Many monographs have been written concerning particular events which occurred in Georgia during the War Between the States, but this study presents in one book the principal phases of Georgia's history during the war. The political, military, economic, and social factors of Confederate Georgia have been narrated and explained. Although the relation of Georgia to the Confederacy has been emphasized, my primary purpose has been to depict as completely as possible the scene within the state." (Preface.)

The situations in Georgia during the war offer many counterparts to contemporaneous developments in Tennessee.

The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1952. Pp. 192. Map on end papers, notes, appendix, index. $2.50.)

"The generous reception given to an early book of mine, *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824,* has encouraged me to write this companion volume on the early Presbyterian Church in the same area. This volume restates the importance and influence of a church as a strong social factor in the development of a new land. The reader will readily agree that there is a common denominator in these studies, even though the statements consist of different terms. A further expansion of the investigation, of course, will include the Baptist Church. Research on this denomination has already been completed, and it is my plan to tell at a later date the contribution of the third democratic church to the development of the area under investigation.

"In several respects the Presbyterian Church was admirably equipped to provide a satisfactory religious life for the frontier people, but it failed, if judged by numbers alone, in comparison with the more popular Methodist

and Baptist churches. On the other hand, Presbyterian interest in education created a literate church membership that stood for religion, virtue, and knowledge—intrinsic values with which the church enriched the rough and ready frontiersmen and thereby gave tone and stability to Western life." (Preface.)

Literary Profiles of the Southern States: A Manual for Schools and Clubs. By David James Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *News Letter,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, January, 1953, Division of University Extension. Pp. 79.)

"More and more people are making literary pilgrimages these days to the birthplaces and homes of authors and to the place-settings of their books. Such visits to points of literary interest add to the appreciation and understanding of these writers and their purposes in the creation of certain novels and short stories. The historical and social background of any book enhances the pleasure to be derived from reading it. A trip to the locale of an author's work, particularly one from which the reader has gained enjoyment, adds color, flavor, and atmosphere which enrich the memory of that particular book and double the delight of re-reading." (Foreword.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1952

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "The Pleasures and Disappointments of Genealogical Searching," by Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, Sr., of Knoxville.

FEBRUARY. "East Tennessee as Viewed by Travellers in the Nineteenth Century," by LeRoy P. Graf, Professor of History, University of Tennessee.

MARCH. "Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter), Cherokee Diplomat," by Dr. I. P. Martin, Historian of the Holston Conference, Methodist Church.

APRIL. Dr. J. W. Livingood and Mr. Gilbert Govan of the University of Chattanooga, discussed their book to be published on April 16—*The Chattanooga Country, From Tomahawks to T. V. A.*

MAY. The Society held its May meeting in Kingsport on Saturday, May 3. The guests were greeted by the reception committee at the Kingsport Inn. Beginning at 2:30 P. M. there were tours, one to Kingsport Press and the other to historic sites and places. Among places visited on the latter tour were Mount Ida (the Valentine Sevier home), the Netherland Inn, the old Kingsport Presbyterian Church, Rotherwood, and Allendale. At the latter home our gracious hosts were Mr. and Mrs. Harvey C. Brooks. Their home held an especial interest to the Knoxville visitors, for the home just recently completed encompassed the portico and stairway from the C. B. Atkin home in Knoxville, for so many years a familiar landmark on West Main Avenue.

A dinner was held at Kingsport Inn at 6:30 P. M., with ninety-eight members and guests present. After the dinner the following program was given:

Elery A. Lay of Kingsport, spoke on the characters in his historical novel *That Reek of Sin.*

The Reverend E. E. Wiley, Jr. spoke on "Silkworms on Holston: the Story of Frederick A. Ross."

Colonel E. W. Palmer, who acted as toastmaster, gave a few reminisences.

JUNE. "East Tennessee During the American Revolution: Changing Historical Interpretations," by Carol Furlong, graduate student, University of Tennessee.

OCTOBER. The Annual Banquet was held on October 4, at the S. & W. Cafeteria in Knoxville. Dr. Gregg Phifer, Department of Speech, Florida State University, spoke on "Andrew Johnson's 'Swing Around the Circle'."

NOVEMBER. In the place of the regular monthly meeting, the Society met with the Southern Historical Association in one session of its annual meeting in Knoxville, November 6-8. At this session, at which Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, presided, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University, spoke on "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee," and Thomas B. Alexander, Georgia Teachers College, described "Thomas A. R. Nelson as an Example of Whig Conservatism in Tennessee." William T. Alderson, Tennessee State Library, led the discussion in the place of Dan M. Robison, who was unable to be present.

DECEMBER. "The Archeological Artifacts of the Fort Loudoun Excavation," by Madeline Kneberg, Professor of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.

At this meeting the following offices of the East Tennessee Historical Society were re-elected for the year 1953: president: Harry S. Hyman, Knoxville; vice-presidents: Knoxville area, Harold S. Fink; Upper East Tennessee, John B. Clark, Lincoln Memorial University; Lower East Tennessee, James W. Livingood, University of Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer: Martha L. Ellison, Lawson McGhee Library; members of the Executive Committee: James S. Bowman (TVA), Harvey Broome, Ira N. Chiles (Univ. of Tenn.), and Laura E. Luttrell of Knoxville, and Verton M. Queener of Maryville College. Stanley J. Folmbee was re-elected managing editor of the *Publications,* and LeRoy P. Graf, associate editor. Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville, and Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

Following the death of President Harry S. Hyman in April, 1953, Harold S. Fink was elected president by the Executive Committee, and Mrs. E. L. Bowman was elected to succeed him as vice-president for the Knoxville area.

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1952 to Thomas B. Alexander for his article, "Strange Bedfellows: The Interlocking Careers of T. A. R. Nelson, Andrew Johnson, and W. G. (Parson) Brownlow." The judges were J. T. Dorris, Eastern Kentucky State College, I. N. Carr, Carson-Newman College, and John S. Ezell, University of Oklahoma.

Through the initiative of the Society for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, Swan Pond, the old Ramsey home near Knoxville, was purchased with funds made available by the city of Knoxville and the Knox County Court, and by Governor Gordon Browning with the endorsement of the Tennessee Historical Commission. Built in 1797 or 1798 by Colonel Francis A. Ramsey, the building was designed by Thomas Hope, an English architect. It was the boyhood home of Colonel Ramsey's son, Dr. J. C. M. Ramsey, author of *Annals of Tennessee.*

At a meeting of the Tennessee Historical Commission, Colonel Campbell Brown, director of highway markers for the Commission, reported that approximately 500 markers will have been erected by March, 1953. The county boundary marker program was completed early in 1952 with a total of 153 such markers having been erected. The remainder of the markers are historical in nature, with the largest number of them being located in Upper East Tennessee, the area of the earliest settlements. Colonel Brown has also prepared a second edition of the *Guide to Tennessee Historical Markers,* which may be obtained from the Tennessee Department of Conservation, Nashville.

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Gregg Phifer is associate professor of speech at Florida State University.

Mrs. Carol Furlong Young, of Lowell, Massachusetts, is a former graduate student at the University of Tennessee.

Charles G. Sellers, Jr., is assistant professor of history at Princeton University.

C. L. Grant is Air Force historian, Historical Division, Air University, Maxwell Field Base, Alabama.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Laura E. Luttrell was formerly head of the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

LeRoy P. Graf is professor of history at the University of Tennessee and associate editor of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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Transcribed from the Original

by

Pollyanna Creekmore

and

Blanche C. McMahon

The first of a projected series of publications of source material relating to Sevier and other East Tennessee counties. The United States Census of 1850 is the first that lists all inhabitants, with age, sex, color, occupation, together with place of birth (State or Country), as well as those who attended school, those who married within the year, and certain other information.

In view of the fact that almost all of the public records of Sevier County were destroyed by fire on March 26, 1856, this record is immeasurably valuable.

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